The African Communist

NO 72 FIRST QUARTER 1978

IMPERIALIST STRATEGY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

INKULULEKO PUBLICATIONS

Distributors of *The African Communist*

PRICE AND SUBSCRIPTION

AFRICA	*10p per copy* *40p per year post free* *Airmail £5.00 per year* (Nigerian subscribers can send 1 Naira to our agent at KPS Bookshop, PMB 23, Afikpo, Imo State)
BRITAIN	*25p per copy* *£1.00 per year post free*
ALL OTHER COUNTRIES	*\$1.00 per copy* *\$4.00 per year post free* *Airmail \$10.00 per year. US currency*

INKULULEKO PUBLICATIONS, 39 Goodge Street, London W.1.

THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST

Published quarterly in the interests of African solidarity, and as a forum for Marxist-Leninist thought throughout our Continent, by the South African Communist Party

No 72 First Quarter 1978

CONTENTS

5 **EDITORIAL NOTES**
Imperialist Strategy in Southern Africa: Vorster's New Constitution.

Toussaint
19 **CLASS AND NATION IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN REVOLUTION**
The ultra-left are raising some old bogies which have long been laid to rest by South African revolutionaries.

Samora Machel
32 **CONSOLIDATING PEOPLE'S POWER IN MOZAMBIQUE**
Speech of the President at the opening of the First People's Assembly of the People's Republic of Mozambique on August 31, 1977.

R.S. Nyameko
51 **U.S. LABOUR CONSPIRACY IN AFRICA**
The African–American Labour Centre now operating in many African countries is promoting the aims of neo-colonialism and hampering the fight against international capitalism and imperialism.

David Davis
63 **APARTHEID LAWS SHACKLE AFRICAN WORKERS**
The government's machinery for industrial conciliation is designed to deny African workers the collective bargaining rights enjoyed by workers of other races.

Dr. R. Press
74 **WORKERS' HEALTH UNDERMINED BY APARTHEID**
Capitalist society, by concentrating on profits, neglects the health and welfare of the workers. In South Africa it is the blacks who are the most victimised.

Vukani Mawethu

82 **AFRICA NOTES AND COMMENT**
Tanzania: Solidarity in Practice; Seychelles: End of a Corrupt Regime; Zaire: Mobutu Commits Another Crime; Western Sahara: Polisario Fights.

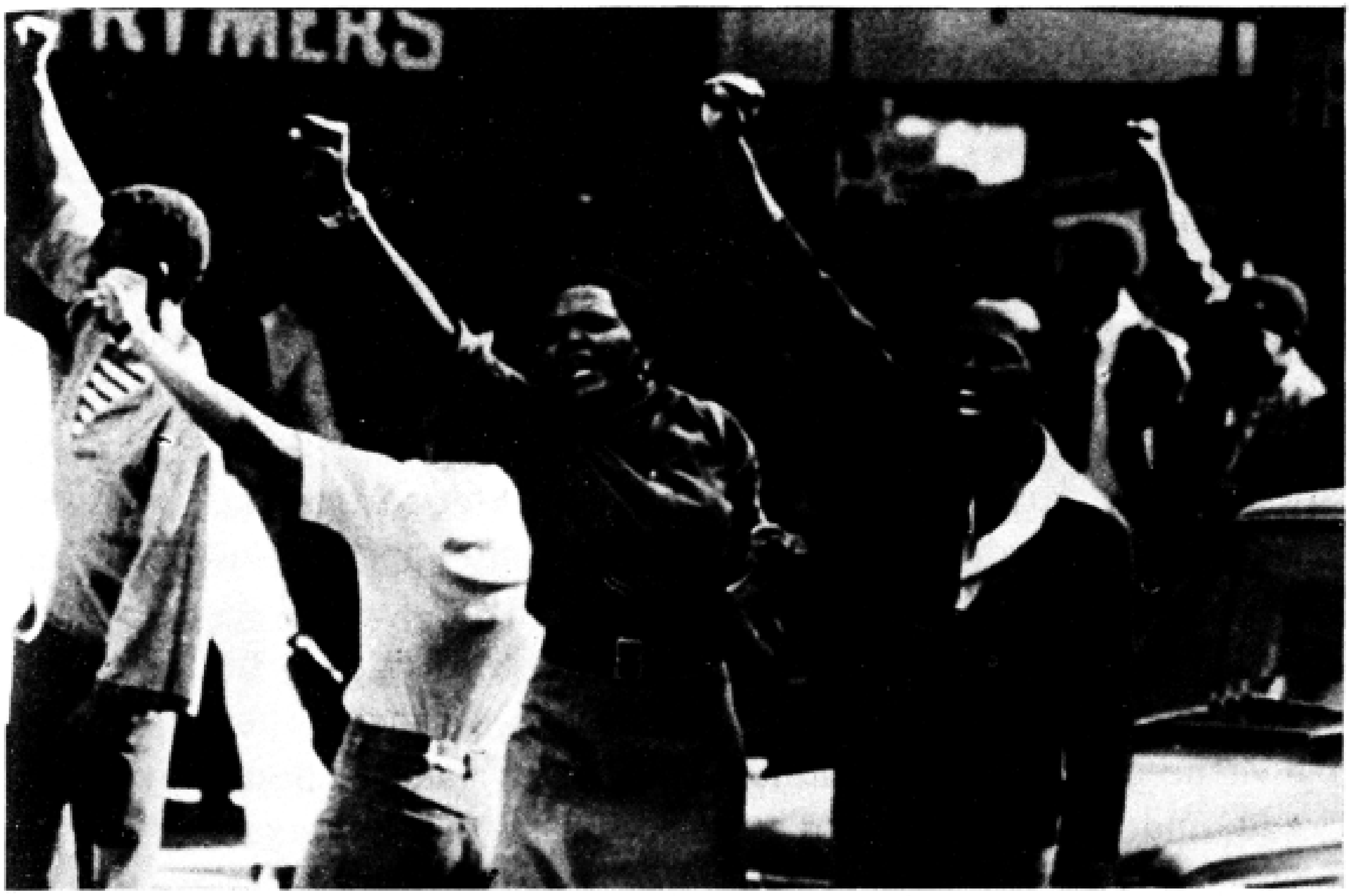
John Hoffman

92 **ANTONIO GRAMSCI ON STATE AND REVOLUTION**
A discussion of the work of the Italian revolutionary whose ideas are increasingly influential in the international Communist movement.

102 **LETTER TO THE EDITOR**
From Arnold Selby, Berlin.

109 **BOOK REVIEWS.**
Class, Race and Black Liberation by Henry Winston; *From Protest to Challenge Vols. 3 and 4,* by Thomas Karis, Gwendolen Carter and Gail M. Gerhart; *The Imperialist Nature of Racism in Southern Africa,* Akademie Verlag, Berlin; *Malawi: Foreign Policy and Development,* by Carolyn McMaster; *The Burden of the Present: Liberal Radical Controversy over Southern African History,* by Harrison M. Wright; *How Long will South Africa Survive?* by R.W. Johnson.

127 **CONTENTS LIST FOR THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST, 1977.**



IMPERIALIST STRATEGY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

The decision of the United Nations Security Council last November to impose a mandatory arms embargo on South Africa is a step in the right direction. At the same time, the motive of the Western powers in adopting this resolution should not be misinterpreted. While the resolution itself reflects world abhorrence of apartheid and the beginnings of a U.N.campaign to do something about it which will be of assistance to the liberation movements of Southern Africa, it should be borne in mind that only the previous year the Western powers had vetoed a similar resolution, and that they only agreed to an arms embargo on this occasion because of the growing resentment against their pro-South African stand voiced by African and other Third World countries where Western economic and strategic interests might have been damaged by further blocking action. The Western countries were probably also induced to support an arms embargo because they considered it would not be of great practical effect. South Africa claims to be largely self-sufficient in arms production – thanks largely to previous Western aid and licensing arrangements – and there are always ways round embargoes through third parties and the international underground. Israel has already openly indicated her determination to stand by South Africa.

What is more important at this stage is to impose full economic sanctions against South Africa, and this is a sphere where the West, by virtue of its huge investment and trade stake in Southern Africa, could undoubtedly call the tune. But in this context the Western powers have already indicated their unwillingness to move further against South Africa by vetoing the more comprehensive resolution first moved in the Security Council by the African countries and supported by the socialist and third world countries. The battle at the U.N. is by no means over.

Nevertheless the white-dominated states of Southern Africa are today confronted by pressures which are steadily growing and must in the long term prove irresistible. The primary force for change in the region stems from the demand and struggle of the black majority for national liberation, independence, majority rule based on one man one vote and an end to the domination of imperialism and colonialism. But external forces are also being brought to bear. The socialist countries and the international communist movement have been the staunch allies of the liberation movement ever since it was formed in the early years of this century, and are today still the main bastion of its foreign support. Another stand of support for our cause has been the working class movement in the capitalist countries, and democratic and progressive forces in all countries which have joined the anti-apartheid camp.

For decades the racists of Southern Africa were able to withstand the threat of revolution because they enjoyed the support of international imperialism, happy to secure from apartheid Southern Africa bigger returns on invested capital than they could obtain elsewhere in the world. Western recognition of the strategic importance of South

Africa was also incorporated in the Simonstown Agreement, which placed South Africa's dockyard resources at the disposal of her Western allies. The thousands of millions of pounds of foreign capital invested in Southern Africa were a guarantee not only of economic development of a certain kind but also of Western involvement in the maintenance of the status quo, even of Western willingness to help preserve it by military means in the event of an emergency.

Western confidence in the ability of the white racists to maintain "law and order" had been expressed as far back as 1910, with the creation of the Union of South Africa. By contrast the absence of Western confidence in the ability of the white racists to suppress the revolutionary forces today is reflected in the frenzied attempt to bring about new "constitutional settlements" in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa itself.

New Urgency

This frantic attempt to bring about "change" in social and racial relationships in Southern Africa is based on two main considerations. The first is the recognition of the series of reverses suffered by imperialism since the end of World War II – the extension of the boundaries of socialism, the achievement of independence by former colonies in Africa, Asia and Latin America; the shattering defeat of the imperialists in open conflict in Korea, Vietnam, Angola, Mozambique and Guine Bissau. Especially Angola, because there for the first time South African forces were involved and driven to ignominious defeat.

The second consideration, flowing partially from the first, is the declining ability of South African capitalism to deliver the goods. Towards the end of 1977, the South African economy was registering hardly any advance at all, a fact which, taking into account the increase in population, meant an all-round decline in living standards. The cushioned whites were protected against the worst effects of this economic decline, but for the blacks it has meant wholesale poverty and dislocation, with African unemployment well over the 2 million mark and increasing steadily.

The decline in the South African economy has been due to a combination of factors. Partly it was the result of the depression in the capitalist world; partly it has been caused by the flight and with-holding of foreign capital following the disturbances in Soweto and elsewhere; partly it is the consequence of the restrictive practices of apartheid which prevent the full utilisation of the human and material resources of the country.

In all these respects, what has been happening in South Africa is reflected also in Zimbabwe and Namibia, whose regimes survive only because of the South African connection. So today the world is witnessing throughout Southern Africa the revolt of the oppressed black masses, driven to desperation by their worsening political and economic situation, and inspired by the liberation of their brothers in the north and particularly the establishment of Socialist regimes in Mozambique and Angola.

Normally the imperialists in such a situation today, having learned the lesson of their post-war colonial reverses, are quick to hasten forward with a neo-colonial solution which by transferring political control will release some of the pressure and enable their profit-taking to continue. In Southern Africa, however, the intransigence of the white racists stands in the way of such a solution. The illegal Rhodesian regime still equivocates over the demand voiced both by the liberation movements and the western intermediaries for a constitution based on one man one vote. While in South Africa the Vorster regime continues to refuse the basic right of citizenship, let alone the right to vote, to the African majority of the population. The brutal butchery of student demonstrators by the police, resulting in well over 1,000 deaths in the last 18 months; the cold-blooded murders of political prisoners in detention; the crackdown on the black consciousness movement; the banning of *The World*, the Christian Institute and other leading anti-apartheid activists, white and black – all these are a chilling reflection of the white racists' inability to adapt to changing circumstances.

Some at least of the conditions precedent to revolution obtain in South Africa today. Restrictive social relationships are choking productive capacity. The people are clearly unwilling to go on living in the old way, and in many areas like Soweto the authority of the government has broken down. When even an exponent of non-violence like Steve Biko is done to death in a police cell it is inevitable that more and more of the oppressed masses are turning towards armed struggle as the only way forward. A process has been set in motion which, if the confrontation is allowed to persist, can have only one outcome, however long delayed - the final defeat of the white supremacists and the establishment of a government on lines even more radical than those envisaged in the Freedom Charter.

It is precisely because the revolutionary process in Southern Africa is being speeded up, not halted, by white racist repression and ruthlessness that the western imperialists are now attempting to intervene in the hope of saving something from the wreckage. And it is not just the fate of Southern Africa which they fear for. It is the world-wide future of capitalism itself which is at stake.

U.S. Intentions

President Carter's National Security Adviser, Zbigniew Brzezinski, in a press interview last October, justifying the American initiative in Southern Africa, made it clear that the imperialists could no longer leave it to South Africa to police the area.

"What is at stake here is of really major importance, both in international and human terms", he said. "What is at stake is how to avoid a trans-continental war, which will simultaneously be a black versus white and a red versus white war. In other words, a war which will merge the racial conflict into an ideological conflict. What is at stake here is the livelihood of some millions of people, black and white. What is at stake here, in short, is how to avoid historical tragedy"

Brzezinski did not explain why the conflict should take this form, but implicit in what he said is the recognition that there is a natural alliance between the anti-imperialist forces, between the liberation movements and the forces of international communism. Just how effective this force can be was demonstrated in Angola. It is to prevent the triumph of this force in Southern Africa as well that the imperialists are now devoting all their diplomatic initiatives and threats of economic pressures.

"What we're trying to do", explained Brzezinski, "is to encourage a process of change which will outpace what otherwise looks like a rather apocalyptical alternative. We're not putting pressure on South Africa to commit suicide. We're trying to get the South Africans to rethink the historical destiny of their own country, *so that through change that society can survive* and make possible the cohabitation of the white and black communities". (London *Times*, 10 October 1977. Our emphasis)

When Brzezinski speaks of "South Africans" he is of course thinking of "white South Africans", of the white racists who hold the reins of power. And he admits he is trying to get them to permit sufficient change to enable their society to survive. He is definitely *not* trying to bring about the restructuring of that society on the lines laid down in the Freedom Charter. He is definitely *not* for the establishment of any form of people's democracy in Southern Africa: that is the "apocalyptical alternative" which frightens him.

What the imperialists are aiming at is without doubt a neo-colonial solution which will preserve their interests in Southern Africa. From whence does the U.S. derive its locus standi in Southern Africa? It has never ruled there, or held territory there. It objects strenuously when the Soviet Union or Cuba becomes involved in areas where they have not "traditionally" been established, but shows no reluctance to do so itself. And of course the U.S. has an enormous stake in the area. U.S. direct investment in South Africa accounts for almost 40% of total U.S. investment in Africa. The book value of direct American investment in Africa at the end of 1976 was 4,467 million dollars, of which 1,665 million dollars was in South Africa, more than double the 1969 figure of 700 million dollars. (*Financial Mail*, 30 September, 1977) The British stake, as is well known, is even larger, accounting for almost 60% of total foreign investment in South Africa, and Foreign Secretary Owen has frankly admitted that the British Government opposes sanctions against South Africa because it cannot afford them.

The reason why some form of pressure is now being contemplated by the western powers against South Africa is because, whatever the cost, the alternative is the total loss of the area as a field for private enterprise and profit-taking. Just as the South African Liberal Party, which initially called for a qualified franchise, was eventually compelled to espouse universal suffrage for fear of losing all support from the disfranchised blacks and leaving the field, in its view, "wide open to the Communists", so now the imperialists have suddenly become the most ardent exponents of universal suffrage in Southern Africa. Their neo-colonialist experience of majority rule based on one man one vote in the post-war era has satisfied them that it is not incompatible with capitalism. Fearful that white racist rigidity will lead to total confrontation, thereby opening the door to the "apocalyptical alternative", the Western powers are pleading with

Vorster to accept a compromise.

It is the primary contradiction between capitalism and communism which has led to the development of the secondary contradiction between the imperialist powers and the white racist regimes of Southern Africa. Vorster himself, in an address to an audience of American businessmen and women in Johannesburg last September, admitted that America's pursuit of black majority rule and one man one vote was leading the two countries to "drift apart". Some of his Cabinet ministers have gone even further and dubbed the U.S. enemy No. 1.

Suspicions Remain

The liberation movements of Southern Africa are rightly suspicious of western motives in the present round of negotiations. It is all very well for President Carter to appoint Andrew Young as his U.N. Ambassador and allow him to spout platitudes calculated to win friends and influence people in the third world. What the west will be judged by are the results, and to date nothing apart from the arms embargo has emerged to lead anyone to believe that the imperialist leopard has changed its spots.

In Zimbabwe the Anglo-American proposals for a settlement, as incorporated in the Rhodesia White Paper presented to Parliament by the Foreign Secretary, are patently designed to disarm the liberation movements and placate the white minority. Even if Smith can be persuaded to step down, the whole of the white-dominated apparatus of Rhodesia, including the laws passed since 1965 and the judges, administrators, policemen and possibly even soldiers who have been enforcing them with indescribable ruthlessness ever since UDI will remain in being. Presiding over what is being passed off as decolonisation would be Lord Carver, an army blimp whose record in Kenya in suppressing the so-called Mau Mau rebellion can hardly be calculated to inspire confidence in African breasts. And Carver would from the word "go" be able to rule by decree using emergency powers placed at his disposal by the white paper.

If the constitutional proposals go forward in their original form, the whole pace and direction of whatever change is contemplated will be determined by Carver and his advisers. Nowhere is there any provision for representation of any of the liberation movements in the processes of decision-making. The freedom fighters, whose courage and sacrifice have opened the way to change in Zimbabwe, are expected to exchange their guns for ballot papers, leaving effective power in the hands of the imperialists and their agents. The U.N. representative and the U.N. Zimbabwe Force contemplated in the white paper will be at all times subject to the authority of the Reisident Commissioner; they may advise but they cannot decide what is to happen.

Likewise the intervention of the five western powers in Namibia is specifically designed to assist the South African Government in its plans to isolate and destroy SWAPO. The five powers concerned – Britain, the U.S., France, West Germany and Canada – have no mandate from anyone to negotiate over the future of the territory. As in South Africa itself, their only concern is to stop the fighting and create the conditions in which their looting of the immense natural resources of the area can continue uninterrupted. In view of the fact that between them they account for the bulk of foreign investment in the territory, their determination to do all in their power to prevent a SWAPO government from coming to power and implementing its programme of repossessing the resources of Namibia for the benefit of its inhabitants is understandable, though hardly defensible. And it is noteworthy that in Namibia, as in Zimbabwe, the imperialists and racists are proposing a mechanism for the transition period which totally excludes SWAPO, whose struggles over the years are the main factor responsible for creating the conditions in which a transfer of power can be placed on the agenda.

In both Zimbabwe and Namibia the western and South African shibboleth is "free elections". Grandly they proclaim: "Let the people decide". Imagine, the South African racists, who deny citizenship rights to the majority of the population in their own country, are demanding free elections on the basis of one man one vote in Namibia and Zimbabwe! That in itself should be sufficient to raise the doubt whether "free elections" and "one man one vote" are in themselves adequate to ensure majority rule, the effective transfer of power. Capitalism and imperialism have survived "one man one vote" throughout the western world, because the way people vote in elections depends on what sort of pressures are exerted on them at election time; and that in turn depends on who controls the levers of power, who administers the law, who is in charge of the security services, the press and radio – in the long run, who owns the means of production and distribution, and what sort of laws he has placed on the statute book to perpetuate his ownership. Basically, there can be no free elections in an unfree society. So long as white racist domination remains in being in Zimbabwe and Namibia an effective transfer of power cannot be brought about by elections alone. In fact, the challenge in Southern Africa as a whole is that people's power must be made a reality before there can be any prospect of truly free elections.

VORSTER'S NEW CONSTITUTION

If the constitutional proposals for Zimbabwe and Namibia are inadequate, those advanced by Vorster to placate his critics at home and abroad can only be described as ludicrous. As leaked to the press, they totally exclude the African people, who are to be regarded as foreigners, citizens of their respective Bantustans. There are to be three parliaments – one for whites, one for Coloureds and one for Indians. The white Parliament will have 165 elected members – the same number as at present if one excludes the 6 MPs representing the whites of Namibia who are being dropped to foster the illusion that Namibia is to become "independent" of South Africa. The Senate will apparently be scrapped, but the white Parliament will have an extra 20 members – 8 appointed by the government and 12 elected (by whom is not clear) on the basis of the number of seats won in the elections by the various parties.

The Coloured people will have a Parliament of 82 members, presumably elected, plus 10 additional members – four appointed by the Coloured government and six elected on the basis of the proportionate strength of the parties in the Coloured Parliament. The Indian Parliament will have 41 elected members, plus 5 other members, 2 appointed by the Indian government and three elected on a proportional basis. The white franchise will stay as it is. The basis for the Coloured and Indian franchise is not stated, but according to one Nationalist source will be "as agreed with the leaders of the population groups concerned".

The powers of the white Parliament will not be altered. The other two parliaments will handle only those matters which are "their exclusive concern", as decided by the Council of Cabinets.

The Council of Cabinets will consist of three Prime Ministers, six senior white ministers, three coloured ministers and two Indian ministers. Its main function will be to draft leglislation of common concern to all three parliaments. Chairman of the Council of Cabinets will be the State President, who will be appointed for five years by an electoral college comprising 50 members appointed by the white parliament, 25 members appointed by the the Coloured Parliament, and 13 members appointed by the Indian parliament.

There are other details, but the above summary is enough to enable readers to judge that nothing at all will be changed by this fancy new plan. The white parliament will continue in supreme control as at present, and the white MPs will at all times outnumber the Coloured and Indian MPs. So long as the Nationalists continue to dominate the white Parliament, it is inevitable that the State President will be a Nationalist – Vorster to start with – and he will have the decisive vote in the Council of Cabinets as well. The Coloured and Indian parliaments will be merely glorified versions of the present Coloured and Indian Councils, parliaments without power.

The whole scheme has been drawn up by the Broederbond with no pretence of consultation either with the white opposition, or with any section of the black people. Not even the Nationalists had been adequately briefed. Up to the time of going to press, no white paper had been published, and no one even in the Nationalist Party was able to examine in detail how the plan was going to work, though this did not prevent the provincial congresses of the Nationalist Party from endorsing the plan, one after the other, in the their usual "ja baas" fashion. Yet this plan was supposed to be one of the issues to be settled by the November 30 election, which it was claimed would serve as a referendum of the white electorate. As for the blacks, the Nationalist attitude is that if they don't like it they can lump it. A Nationalist Party pamphlet on the plan published in the middle of October said that, if the Coloured and Indian people refused to co-operate, "they will remain where they are. We lay the table and those refusing to sit down will do without". This is traditional Nationalist hospitality where blacks are concerned: "Eat what you are given or starve to death." What they offer is poison anyway.

The Soviet Example

Significantly, at the very time the Nationalists' new constitutional plan was under discussion (by Nationalists), the Soviet Union was giving a demonstration of what consultation of the people really means. The new draft constitution of the Soviet Union was prepared by a constitution commission, set up by the Supreme Soviet, which included representatives of every section of Soviet society. The draft took years to prepare and was twice considered by plenary meetings of the Central Committee of the CPSU before being submitted to the whole people for discussion. More than 80% pf the total adult population of the Soviet Union, that is more than 140 million men and women, took part in these discussions. In a speech to the session of the Supreme Soviet on October 4, comrade Brezhnev reported:

"This draft was discussed at some 1½ million meetings of working people at enterprises and collective farms, in military units and in residential areas. It was discussed at plenary meetings, at meetings of activists, and at general meetings of trade unions and the Komsomol organisations and by co-operative associations and artists', writers', musicians' and other unions. The whole Party was involved in its discussions. some 450,000 open Party meetings were held for this purpose and these were addressed by more than 3 million men and women. The draft was considered by all the Soviets of the Union Republics, that is by more than 2 million deputies, representing the whole of our people".

Altogether some 400,000 proposals for amendments to individual articles of the constitution were submitted, as a result of which 110 articles of the draft were amended and one new article added. Comrade Brezhnev commented:

"We can say with confidence and pride that it is the whole Soviet people who have in fact become the true creators of the Fundamental Law of their State".

Compare this open and comprehensive discussion of their constitution by the Soviet people with the miserable secrecy with which the Nationalist Government surrounded their constitutional abortion, as though they were ashamed of it – as indeed they had every reason to be. A constitution which openly discriminates against the majority of the population and deprives them of the franchise, is something to be ashamed of. A constitution which deprives the African majority even of their basic right to citizenship is something to be ashamed of. A constitution which has no meaning and which makes no contribution to the welfare of the South African people, which merely entrenches the power of the white minority, is something to be ashamed of and hidden away. It is noteworthy that Nationalists avoided speaking about the constitution in their election campaign. It was unpopular with friend and foe alike. And it was irrelevant.

The South African electorate consists of barely 2,200,000 whites out of a total population of 27 million. By no stretch of the imagination can the verdict of that electorate be described as any sort of mandate from the people of South Africa. In fact, it is precisely the fact that the Nationalist Government has such a small political base in relation to the total population that compels it to rely on force to maintain itself in power. And as time passes and the size of the white population diminishes in proportion to the black, the need for force can only increase – more and more force to compensate for less and less consensus and to counteract the growing spirit of rebellion among the mass of the oppressed people.

We have always maintained that the "kragdadigheid" and rigidity of the Nationalist Government are a reflection of its weakness not its strength. And the rigidity is growing, the repression and rebellion increasing, as the inability of the Nationalist Government to adapt to its changing environment and the social damage caused thereby become more blatantly obvious.

True, Vorster goes through the motions of reform, but they are empty gestures. A typical example is his so-called abolition of the pass laws, which turns out on examination to be merely a substitution of Bantustan passports for the South African- issued reference books, leaving the African masses as restricted as before, though with different and possibly even more vicious taskmasters – the Bantustan governments and their agents. What is trumpeted to the world as a moral advance on the part of Vorster is in fact merely a device to get them to do his dirty work for him.

The fact is that the Nationalist Government is constitutionally incapable of altering the fundamental relationships between black and white in South Africa, or of acceding to any of the basic demands of the oppressed black majority. Even Vorster's "reforms" are imposed on the people, not adopted through any form of consensus or consultation with the peoples' organisations and leaders.

Suppression of Communism

When the Unlawful Organisations Bill (later named the Suppression of Communism Bill) was first introduced in the House of Assembly in 1950, the Central Committee of the Communist Party stated in its memorandum submitted to the Select Committee examining the Bill:

"The main reason for introducing this legislation, and indeed its main aim, is to stifle the demand so vigorously advocated by our Party for democratic rights and equality for all in South Africa. Unable to succeed in any legal charge against our Party, the Government is now attempting to suppress our demand for democracy by illegalising not only our Party, but ultimately any organisation which preaches for equality against apartheid. There can be little doubt that once the Communist Party of South Africa is outlawed, all those individuals, organisations, churches and institutions who raise the demand for an end to racial discrimination in South Africa will be branded in terms of this Bill and declared illegal".

We were mocked at the time by many of those who subsequently became victims of the Suppression of Communism Act, now renamed the Internal Security Act. And it was in terms of that same Act that all the black consciousness organisations, *The World* and the Christian Institute were banned last October.

This year marks the 30th anniversary of the Nationalist accession to power. In all that time, they have never deviated from their determination to maintain power and privilege in white hands, and in particular in the hands of the Nationalist Party. Steadily they closed all doors of negotiation, eliminated all their opponents, many of them physically and in the most brutal fashion in the style, a mixture of the Mafia and the Gestapo, which has become their speciality and their trade mark.

It was after the Sharpeville massacres and the suppression of the 1961 stay-at-home that the liberation movement formed Umkhonto we Sizwe, finally convinced, after exhausting all forms of legal struggle, that force had to be met with force. The analyses of the ANC and the Communist Party have been vindicated by history.

Neither the black consciousness organisations nor *The World* stood for a revolutionary transformation of society, nor even for socialism as propagated by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Moses Kotane, Govan Mbeki or JB Marks. In fact, they went out of their way to exclude force from their range of options. They stressed their moderation. They had no programme of action, nor any strategy for the seizure of power. Their aim was solely to rouse black consciousness and they were confident that, once roused, it would swell like a river, finding its own course, until it had grown into a flood which of its own momentum would smash the dykes of repression and burst through to the open sea.

The murder of Steve Biko and the bannings have removed the last illusions of the possibility of peaceful change. Now that the black consciousness organisations have been prevented from functioning legally, the Government need not think that black consciousness has been extinguished. Rather it has been spread more widely than ever. For black consciousness is not a new thing. It was activated by the first wave of white invasion and oppression in 1652. It took organisational shape with the founding of the Indian Congress in 1894, the APO in 1905, the ANC in 1912, the Communist Party and the black trade unions in the 1920's. It has been growing steadily ever since, and the murders in Soweto last year, the deaths in detention, the bannings and bludgeoning have already driven tens of thousands on to the next stage of political consciousness, the realisation that consciousness must be reflected in power, that in Marx' phrase, it is not enough to understand the world, the point is to change it. Increasing numbers are joining the ranks of the ANC, the CP and Umkhonto, fully convinced that in South Africa today you have to have tools and weapons in your hands before you can change the consciouscess of the white racists, impervious as they are to the appeals of reason. The latent power of the river of black consciousness must be harnessed and channeled, the people must be organised, trained and equipped, mentally and physically, for the challenging tasks ahead.

Let no-one underestimate Vorster when he boasts of the strength at his disposal. It is truly formidable and has yet to be deployed to anything like its full extent. But let not Vorster and his cronies on the other hand underestimate the strength and resilience of the forces that are gathering against them, for they are limitless and in the long run invincible. The desperation of Smith and Vorster arises from their realisation that they have painted themselves into a corner and there is no way out. The confidence of the people arises from the fact that they are the standard-bearers of an idea whose time has come, and through their struggle they will inherit the future.

Class & Nation in the S. African Revolution

by Toussaint

The popular upsurge of struggle in Soweto and elsewhere in South Africa in 1976 was a signal – if any signal was needed – that the revolutionary conflict in South Africa festers and advances constantly in new ways, despite the massive police-state repression against it. Each new round of struggles, such as those started by the students of Soweto and still continuing around the country, demands serious appraisal and consideration from serious revolutionaries. The problems of the course and strategy of the South African revolution have never been easy. Diagrams are not to be found in the marxist treatises on political theory, nor ready-made answers in the accumulated experiences of other nations. South Africa has always – in its social, economic and political conditions – been subtly different, unique, requiring its own, subtly different answers to universal problems of revolutionary practice. Marxist theory has been the great illuminator; but its light has always needed to be cast on problems unique to South Africa, and demanding therefore the most careful, non-dogmatic study and application in new ways, beyond the text books.

From its inception in 1921, the Communist Party grappled constantly and seriously with the problems of analysis and understanding of the South African revolution. There was no "religious" revelation given, in which the truth emerged pure and complete in a single flash. Truth had to be searched for painfully and slowly, with partial answers and insights needing to be tested in practical revolutionary work, and so sharpened, refined, brought closer to perfection. And in the course of that searching and sharpening, there have been shifts of emphasis and direction which in their turn shaped the course of the party's own history. Nothing has proved so difficult of resolution, so thorny as the problem of relationships between national and class factors in the South African revolution. That the party veered from position to position in its assessment as it grappled with this problem is testified to by its history.

There have been times when the national factors – the fact that the overwhelming majority of the country's people suffer national oppression – have seemed less significant in the mapping of a revolutionary strategy than the fact of an organised working class – admittedly of much smaller size – locked in struggle with its opposite capitalist class. And there have been times when the rise of struggles for national equality by the black oppressed have seemed to diminish and mute the significance of industrial class struggles. These shifts in communist thinking are not to be explained by the wisdom or intellectual brilliance of its leading personnel from time to time – much though individual leaders may have contributed to the development and defence of the current ideology. The shifts are to be explained by the growing experience and understanding the party acquired through its own practical revolutionary activity, which enabled it constantly to re-interpret its views, weigh its assessments, and thus move constantly closer to full understanding; inevitably the course was not unwaveringly straight. Nowhere in the world is political theory a fixed catalogue of immutable truths. And nowhere less so than in South Africa. Everywhere, political theory is distilled from past experience, a living body of opinion constantly developing with every new turn in objective circumstances and every new discovery in the field of practice.

It is at the present stage – or more correctly, in the late 1960's stage of its long practical revolutionary experience – that the South African communists produced their current appraisal of the problem of national and class factors in the balance of their revolution. As befits the period in which it was developed, it is perhaps the richest, most fully thought through formulation to date. Its concept derives from what has become loosely known as the "colonialism of a special type" characterisation of the country. That is to say: that here is an advanced capitalist country within which colonial-style patterns of life, work and administration keep the black majority in national oppression, in a fashion more commonly found where coloniser and colonised live in different, often widely separated, countries. This uniquely South African characterisation of their society enabled the Communists to map out their strategic view of the South African revolution – a national revolution for the total abolition of the colonial-style forms of exploitation; a revolution which cannot succeed without the expropriation of the main heights of the capitalist economy, whose very existence depends on colonial types of exploitation; a revolution in which the industrial working class is uniquely equipped to place itself at the head of all oppressed classes and groups, and which – if it does so – would constitute the first act in a continuing process of reconstructing the country on the basis of socialism. It is a complex strategy, not easily arrived at; and it is not to be easily discounted even though it is still not final, not finished, but is constantly being developed and enriched with new wisdom that comes from new experience – the Soweto events included.

A Contrary View

A totally different interpretation, perhaps one might call it an opposite interpretation is that arrived at by various groups of left-wing Britons, members of a number of parties and sects – the International Socialist League (ISL), the International Marxist Group (IMG) and others, all claiming to be Marxist and revolutionary.

They are not directly involved in the South African revolutionary struggles. They do not therefore have to have answers in order to frame their own strategy, and they do not have to test those answers against experience constantly enriched in the harsh firing-lines of South African reality. They approach the problem of South Africa as an essay in Marxist interpretation, somewhat remote from the real scene. This

RHODES UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

criticism they will meet, no doubt, by saying that because we are so close to the struggle, our views are influenced by petty considerations of practicality and immediate short-term gain; that we are so close to the trees that we cannot have a view of the whole forest; and that their interpretations is the "pure", the "real" Marxist view.

But is it? And in any case, why bother to argue it at length here, in this journal? Aren't they, after all, sincere, hostile to the South African regime, dedicated to its defeat as we are? Why enter into these disputes over points of theory when energies could be better spent on fighting our enemies? There is a criticism often made of our movement – that we dispute fine points of analysis and theory with such doggedness, even bitterness, that we alienate our friends. Is this question of the character of the South African state and the theory of its revolution an issue worth arguing to the point of division in the ranks of the regime's enemies?

I think so, certainly. For if this British left-wing characterisation of our problem is wrong, then the strategy that they map out for our struggle will be wrong; perhaps so wrong that despite its reference to Marxist orthodoxy, despite its revolutionary protestations, it will not just mislead but perhaps even counter and disrupt the whole revolutionary movement. If that sounds far fetched, consider the case as expounded by two British academics, members of the Socialist Worker Africa Group in Britain (an offshoot of the International Socialists) in a book *Southern Africa After Soweto* by Alex Gallinicos and John Rogers published by Pluto Press.

The essentials of their thesis – and its point of departure from the Communist thesis – is that South Africa is a capitalist country like any other – say Britain or France – and thus some eternal verities of political theory described in Marx' works apply.

But immediately this is said, difficulties arise to be answered. The authors ask:

> "Why has South African capitalism come to depend on cheap, disfranchised black labour? Only a primitive marxist would argue that capitalism always involves a fall in working-class standards . . . . Why do starvation wages, pass laws and the denial of liberty appear to be a necessary feature of South African capitalism?"

Why indeed? But the authors' answer is immediately:

"The answer must be sought in gold mining."

Disarmingly simple, and bolstered in the book by a precis of the history of the discovery and development of gold mining to become the foundation on which present-day South Africa is built. But nevertheless unacceptable. Why does gold mining in South Africa demand the special South African forms of exploitation, when gold mining in Alaska or Calgoorlie or coal mining in Britain or France or anywhere else did not? But even that is not the vital, unanswered question. The real question, which goes to the heart of the matter, is this: Why, if gold mining demands these special forms of exploitation of the working class, why does it happen that they are visited only on the *black* workers, and not on the *white*? There is a reason why the authors do not ask, or attempt an answer to this question, for to do so would sink their whole theoretical edifice. Yet the question has to be asked. Whatever white mineworkers may have become these days – overseers, charge-hands, and part of the management establishment – they were once real, unquestioned proletarians, with nothing to sell but their labour power. But nevertheless *not* indentured, *not* herded in compounds, *not* debarred from every social activity other than underground labour. As the authors acknowledge, but fail to consider:

> "There was another component of the new industrial working class: a group of skilled white workers imported from Britain and other parts of the white Empire . . . . From the start, however, since they enjoyed the privileges of the white settler minority they were alienated from the African workers."
>
> (P 18.)

True. But to leave it there, as the writers do, is to make confusion worse confounded. Why were they – a part of the industrial working class – enjoying the privileges of the white minority "from the start"? What is the subtle alchemy of gold that it demands – from the start – a privileged white proletarian minority, and therefore also an unprivileged black majority?

The question, put in this way, is unanswerable. The answer lies not in the special character of gold, but in the special character of the society producing it. There were, from the start of South African capitalism, a privileged "white settler minority" of workers, and a disfranchised and oppressed black majority. Both were exploited in the marxist sense – that is to say that both groups laboured; and part of the value produced by their labour was not returned to them, but was appropriated by the capitalist mine owners. Both were exploited; but the vital matter is that they were differently exploited, not only in the *degree* of their exploitation but also in its *manner*. The *degree* of exploitation, the "rate of exploitation" in marxist categories, may well have varied from mine to mine, from trade to trade, and would have needed no explanation in their mini-study from the authors of this book. But the *manner* of the exploitation – based on a consistent special and more severe exploitation for ALL blacks, different in degree from that of ALL whites everywhere – this demands explanation. It cannot be ignored, glossed over, as it is here. It has to be faced, if the purpose of the thesis is to unearth the *reality* of South African life. If it had been faced, the glib conclusion that "the answer must be sought in gold mining" would be seen for the nonsense it is.

The authors seek to give this phrase some academic respectability by attributing it to that valuable and scholarly work *Class and Colour in South Africa* by Ray and Jack Simons. But the Simons are suggesting an explanation of why South African patterns of exploitation differ from, for example, the wholesale peonage and near slavery of the former Belgian Congo, or from the mass extermination of the Indians in America – that is to say from other styles of colonialism. But the present authors use it to suggest that – except for the intrusion of gold mining – South African patterns of exploitation are precisely the same as those of *colonising* countries of Western Europe today. In South African parlance, to try to sanctify *this* thesis by citing the Simons, must be called a "schlenter" – that is to say, the passing off of a piece of common quartzite as the purest diamond.

Dogma becomes Strait-jacket

Perhaps I have laboured the point, which is –superficially – a small one. But I do so because it is central to the dispute between the authors' "Marxist" appraisal of South Africa and that of the South African communists. For the authors have made a strait-jacket for their own thesis – which is that since capitalism is the dominant economic system in South Africa as in Western Europe, then – mining aside – its problems can be explained in the terms suitable for Western Europe – through a revolutionary working class overthrowing the capitalist state and substituting for it a workers' state and a socialist system.

This simple dogma *is* their strait-jacket; and it explains why, like wearers of strait-jackets, they must wriggle and wriggle to make its wearing tolerable; why they base themselves on nonsense like the piece cited above, and much more nonsense about South Africa, all bolstered with "references" as though that makes nonsense less nonsensical. The *starting* point of their thesis –not the end result of their study – is this piece of marxist-sounding dogma, which mirrors palely (sixty years afterwards!) some of the first thinking of the South African communists, at a time when they had neither the knowledge of South Africa nor the experience of concrete political activity by which to test their ideas.

Once the dogma is accepted, certain logical consequences flow inevitably. First: that in a developed (so-called 'Western') capitalist society, the only thoroughly revolutionary class is the proletariat – the industrial working class; other classes such as the petty bourgeoisie and the peasants, constantly threatened with being ground down into the ranks of the proletariat, are at best vacillating and partial allies of the revolution, incapable of playing a consistent revolutionary role and thus clearly incapable of leading it. Second: that the national struggle which cuts across the class lines to unite disparate classes of "the nation", obscures the real conflict, which is the class struggle. It is at best a skirmish around the fringes of the revolution, at worst a red herring dragged across the revolution to divert it.

This, put into their own words – and I have no doubt they will not accept mine which are not intended to portray their view precisely, but merely to set its general outlines – this, put in their own words, is the essence of their book. On the strength of it, they construct an entire theoretical edifice of strategy and tactics for the South African revolutionary movement which contradicts in its essentials the whole of the Communist Party's position. To this, in principle, there can be no objection. The South African problem is not so clear cut and simple as to need no further discussion and debate. New consideration, new analysis, new points of view are part of the testing ground of ideas and practice in which ideologies are corrected and refined. And though the ideological ideas of these authors are by no means new, they contradict the entire ideological basis of the present South African revolutionary movement, not just its communist component.

National Struggle

The whole South African revolutionary movement is built on a view of reality which is the reverse of that held by the authors. The various components of the movement would naturally give different weight or different emphasis to different aspects of its ideology. But all build on the foundation that the struggle for national liberation is a truly revolutionary struggle, because its triumph necessitates the overthrow of the social and economic basis of the present society – which is a colonial style exploitation of the black majority even within the context of a capitalist economic order. All build on the foundation that within that truly revolutionary struggle, all oppressed classes participate to a greater or lesser extent, with the urban, industrialised workers playing the foremost role as the most advanced and organised class detachment. All build on the foundation that the triumph of national liberation is inconceivable without the transformation of the fundamental sectors of the economy – that is to say mining, finance and land owning – from a white minority monopoly to public control - a transformation which strikes at the roots of South African capitalism, and thus represents the beginnings of the road to South African socialism. This is the ideology which has built the South African revolution from its early, insignificant beginnings to its present stage where its guerilla armies are forming and beginning to act; where its allegiance from the mass of the population is everywhere acknowledged; and where in the streets of Soweto and elsewhere mass deeds of courage and daring are breaking through the blanket of police terror.

Why then do these old and often discarded ideas of "pure-and-simple" South African working class struggle surface anew now? Ostensibly because something new has emerged from the Soweto events, some new light has been thrown on the darkness. But that too is a "schlenter" peg on which the authors seek to hang their thesis – and perhaps give it an air of "timeliness" and "newsworthiness". Soweto, in fact, raises quite contrary questions about the part of the working class in the present situation in South Africa, which are still the subject of a continuing study and discussion in the South African movement.

It might be argued that the sheer persistence and vitality of these "working class" theories after all these years shows that they have a real rooting in the soil of South Africa. Unfortunately not. The ideas in this book have been weeded out of South African thinking by decades of South African revolutionary experience. These ideas are now being re-introduced and injected into the South African scene from outside. They are not a product of the revolutionary experience, but an attempt to influence it from outside – in this case from the sectarian ranks of British ultra-left marxism.

Nevertheless, it might be argued that ideas should always be welcomed for whatever new they can contribute. Perhaps so. In the political tranquillity of Britain, for instance, any idea – however far from current orthodoxy – may perhaps legitimately be thrown out in the hope that somehow, somewhere, it might stir some slumbering revolutionary passion into action. But one cannot be so tolerant of that argument when applied to South Africa today. There *is* an ongoing revolutionary struggle; it *is* advancing, however painfully, and with a united ideology. An intrusion into this life-and -death situation – by ideas which owe nothing to the soil in which they are now being broadcast – might simply be a naive British failure to understand that revolution is not an academic game conducted in the puzzle columns of *The New Statesman.* But it might also be deliberately subversive – an attempt perhaps to sow divisions in a united movement, and significantly at precisely the time when that movement is managing to break out of a long period of apparent impotence? Or might it be a bid perhaps to undermine the leading cadres of that movement by picking holes in their ideological "impurity" in the hope that their mantle might fall on new shoulders? Who knows? But the authors are not innocents; they are politicians, not writers, and they cannot claim to be unaware of the consequences of the explosive device they hurl into the movement's centre. Ultra-left and right finally meet – the writers looking for a new "revolutionary" leadership, Carter and Owen searching so anxiously for a less revolutionary leadership than that which the ANC and the Communist Party at present supply to the national liberation movements of South Africa –one search from opposite points of departure. The authors will protest their innocence. But their hostility to the ANC and CP underlies the whole of their work.

The Communist Party is never revolutionary enough for them. For example, its programme ". . . *imposes a limit* on the programme of the national liberation movement", a key phrase. Here are contained their twin angles of attack: the CP is not revolutionary enough and by supporting the national movement "limits" the revolutionary potential of that movement; the national movement itself is not revolutionary, limiting itself to "national independence and the destruction of white supremacy . . . Any more radical demands would scare off groups like the African commercial class . . .". The backsliding of the CP is not new. In 1928, we read, the Communist International " . . . required that the interests of the workers in the colonies be subordinated to those of a class alliance led by the petty bourgeois nationalists . . .". And from 1941, ". . . during the whole period beginning at the time when the Soviet Union entered the war, the CP was indistinguishable from General Smuts' party. " In 1946, when African mineworkers voted to go on strike, they did so ". . . against their leaders' pleas", the leaders referred to being only that veteran Communist and ANC leader J.B.Marks.

The ANC is scarcely revolutionary at all. Its calls for national stay-at-homes were adopted because ". . . it was easy to organise such a campaign in the crowded townships . . . ". The Campaign of Defiance of Unjust Laws, in which 8,000 volunteers were sentenced to hard labour, was just passive resistance, a philosophy which ". . . flows from a middle class leadership which places no reliance on the masses . . . It is a glorification of the leaders and elevates them as political martyrs." There is ". . . little to choose between the ANC and PAC. Neither saw mass action as more than a means of putting pressure on the regime; neither saw that only an armed insurrection could overthrow the regime." (page 59.) But when Vorster launched a new repression (1961) to achieve ". . . the decapitation of the urban movement, they were greatly aided in this by the ANC's decision of June 1961 to launch a campaign of sabotage." (page 61) You are damned if you do; and damned if you don't. The Communist Party ". . . has not engaged in mass work since 1950, not even illegally"; and when the decision was taken by the ANC and the Party together to form Umkonto we Sizwe for para-military forms of struggle, " . . the result was complete disaster. A reign of terror mounted by Vorster . . . destroyed the underground resistance." And so on.

Tainted Sources

Who are the authorities for these pieces of history? The book gives a scholarly appearance. There are tiny numbered references everywhere (with the key to the numbers buried in tiny type at the end, where not many readers will bother to track it down), which makes it all look heavily researched, dispassionate and learned. But the references are worth pursuing. We find the statements quoted above are from such unimpeachable and unbiased sources as Leon Trotsky (on the Communist International); I.B.Tabata, described by the authors as "a fiery African Trotskyist" (on the CP in war time); D.O'Meara in the *Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Studies* (on the mine-workers); The Socialist League of Africa – an almost unknown Trotskyist sect (on the stay-at-homes and the Defiance Campaign) and so on. But the book is also heavily larded with quotations from more acceptable sources – which is disarming, but yet worth close study. For the authors have devised a simple technique. For matters of *fact*, of statistics and of record, they refer to acceptable and reputable sources. But for *value* judgements and for comments, almost invariably they refer to hostile and biased critics of the liberation movement – to a polyglot assemblage of Trotskyists, ultra-left splinter sects, dissident and expelled ex-Communists and ex-ANC men who not surprisingly all come to the single conclusion: the South African revolution would have prospered and gone further had *they* been heading it. For the future, the authors have a simple remedy for everything that is wrong with the South African movement:

> "The national struggle can only succeed if it is transformed into the struggle for black workers' power. The task of smashing the apartheid state falls on the shoulders of the black working class."

For the aims of the national movement, therefore, substitute the simple slogan "black workers' power".

And what, you might ask, follows from that? Well, that would alter the long-term prospects of the revolution from whatever they now are to what – if you bother to read to the end – you will find explained in the chapter with which the book ends – called pompously "Results and Prospects."

> ". . . when the economy recovers from the present recession . . . we can expect to see massive struggles developing on the wages front. Wage struggles inevitably raise the demand for independent black trade unions . . . The struggle for higher wages and for trade union rights will be the battle ground on which the mass of black workers acquire the confidence and organisation to take on and win the

> broader political struggles. Indeed the political and economic struggles cannot be separated. The fight . . . raises a host of other issues: the pass laws and the migrant labour system; the denial of all political rights and the Bantustans; the repressive legislation and the police state. together these economic and political struggles add up to the struggle for a black workers' republic in South Africa, to the seizure of power by the black working class and the destruction of the white state machine." (My italics, T.)

Do they indeed? Together, in my view, they add up to a collection of tired and time-worn cliches from the political primers which were in use in the South African political movement long before the present authors were heard of.

But the struggle for a workers' republic – which is what these authors postulate as the *alternative* to the present strategy of the South African revolution, is not quite what they so feebly describe. The authors, understandably, are long on theory of the workers' republic, but rather short on practice. Basically they are calling for a total shift from the main aim of the revolution – which is the national liberation of the oppressed majority *as a first stage;* to a different aim - the class seizure of power by the working class alone. Because this aim is grounded not in the reality of South African life, but in the airy world of dogma, it cannot - and dare not – face the real questions of South African reality. Can the black workers realise their *class* aims, when the society rubs their face so deeply in their national oppression that their eyes are blinded? In fighting only for their *class* power, can the working class minority hope to win allies from the majority of the black population?

These are real questions, which the authors leave unconsidered. So too are those other trifles of reality – What of the national liberationist guerilla struggles and the armed movements which already exist? What of the students demonstrating in the streets for national rights now? And the thousands of activists of the national struggle – the ongoing struggle – facing and suffering tortures and imprisonment now? Can they be won for workers' power now? Would they fight and sacrifice for it now? If not, what do we do with them?

To these matters there are no answers. We are only told what we should have done. "A strategy of insurrection could only have succeeded if the masses had been mobilised and drawn into the armed struggle. In the towns, this strategy would have required an abandonment of the demonstrative protest actions of the 1950's, and instead the use of every economic struggle by black workers in order to build up their confidence and organisation".

How easy it all was. Why didn't we see it ourselves? But take heart, comrades of the South African revolution. Our failure ".....was not one of organisation or of courage – courage is something the South African resistance never lacked – but a political failure".

I suppose we are expected to be grateful for these few kind words, designed to put us in a frame of mind where we can accept the criticism of the ultra-left. Well, we are not. By no means do we reject criticism, provided it is well-meaning and responsible. But criticism which is based on a total mis-reading of the nature of our struggle; criticism which if it were hearkened to would lead to the stultification of our movement and its conversion from a mass movement into an isolated sect; criticism which objectively plays into the hands of the enemy; criticism which is offered by those who do not have to subject their theories, or themselves, to the test of practical action – this sort of criticism we totally reject. Nor does the total inability of our critics to promote the revolution in their home territory convince us that they are in any way qualified to make judgments on events and situations far removed in space and time from those to which they are accustomed. On the contrary, we think they can learn a lot of benefit to themselves by studying the history of the South African liberation movement – if they were only of a mind to study and not to preach.

Consolidating People's Power in Mocambique

by Samora Machel

EXTRACTS FROM A SPEECH MADE BY THE PRESIDENT AT THE OPENING OF THE FIRST PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF MOZAMBIQUE ON AUGUST 31, 1977.

During the coming months, in accordance with article 39 of the Constitution of the People's Republic of Mozambique, the first general elections will take place in our country. The Locality, Town, District and Provincial Assemblies, and the People's Assembly, will be elected. [The elections were scheduled to take place between September and December, 1977.–Ed.]

These elections are of great historic significance; they are the first to be held throughout our country, the first in which millions of men and women, millions of workers, will elect their representatives at all levels. Two years after the proclamation of our Independence, an independence that is at one and the same time a rupture with the colonial power and the emergence of a state founded on the worker peasant alliance, the creation of the People's Assemblies means the consolidation of class power, of People's Power. This is an important moment when the people, in an organized way, affirm the reality of their power. The power of the people serves the people; strengthening it improves the people's lives.

The democratisation of working methods and the popularisation of the political line that accompany the elections and the founding of the People's Assemblies, establish irreversible situations in the evolution of our revolutionary process. The masses become conscious of the fact that they are responsible for their state, that their state will be what they decide it should be.

The masses assume their responsibility as the creators and masters of their destiny, the creators of their own happiness. This awareness and determination makes the people's conquests irreversible, and will block and annihilate any attempt by reaction and imperialism to bring down our People's Republic.

The exploiting class are thrown from power once and for all, the working class and its principal ally, the peasantry, are installed in the supreme organs of state.

The question of power is fundamental to the Revolution. The Revolution triumphs or fails when it holds or loses power. Without taking power there can be no revolutionary conquests, no revolutionary transformations in society. This is logical since power is the capacity of a class to impose its interests, to impose its will on the entire society, the capacity of this class to mould society in accordance with its interests, to lead it through the transformation process that satisfies those interests.

In their efforts to keep the masses confused, and in their deliberate action to prevent the masses from gaining power, the exploiting classes spread the myth of the neutrality of power. According to bourgeois theorists the state is neutral; the state of bourgeois law is a state above classes and their conflicts; a state that could be used independently, by exploiters and exploited. Thus, the question of the conquest of power by the workers, of the overthrow of the exploiting classes and their state apparatus, is never raised. In consequence, the question of instituting dictatorship of the proletariat is also never raised. This is an attempt to demobilise the working class, an attempt to convince the working class that their struggle to overthrow the power of the bourgeois state is useless.

The historical experience of the people, the historical experience of our people, shows us that these theories are wrong. In our country, successive classes of national and foreign exploiters held power, always to the detriment of the interests of the overwhelming majority of the people. Contrary to the interests of the vast majority, the feudal chiefs promoted slavery, the oppression of women, the domination of youth, and divided the people, fought the unity of the people, creating favourable conditions for the colonial conquest. The colonial bourgeoisie organised society so as to impose its interests of pillage. It brutalised, depersonalised, and massacred our people and these crimes became the aims to which society as a whole had to submit. It wanted to mould society to such an extent that it reached the point of forcing a Mozambican to deny his personality, to transform himself into a little black Portuguese. We reached the ridiculous extent of seeing people from our land, people we knew well, people for whom we could trace generations of Mozambican ancestors, make public speeches where they prided themselves on mythical lusitanian and sailor ancestors.

Assimilation was no capricious exercise by the Portuguese coloniser, it was an extreme form of the exercise of power by the colonial bourgeoisie.

Changes of the War

By its very nature and class objectives, the People's Liberation War created favourable conditions such that, in our historical circumstances, we could accomplish the tasks of the National Democratic Revolution, and begin the process of the People's Democratic Revolution. At the time of the struggle against the new exploiters who arose within FRELIMO, the need to build from the ruins of colonialism a new kind of society, a new type of power, became clear to the broad masses in the liberated areas.

In the practice of the revolutionary process, the working masses had come to understand that the central question of our struggle was to know which class or classes should hold power in our society, and also what concrete measures should be taken to win this power.

The answer we found was that we must prevent Mozambican exploiters from occupying the vacancies left by colonialism, prevent the small national exploiters, allied to imperialism, from occupying power and progressively turning themselves into a new bourgeoisie. Our fight was to destroy the small crocodile on the river bank instead of leaving him to grow and turn into a strong crocodile. We did this by destroying the political and economic power of the feudal *regulos*; we also did it when we took control of trade and encouraged the organisation of collective modes of production in the liberated areas. As far as structures were concerned, we systematically rejected all those who aspired to become new exploiters. The people's committees of peasants in cooperatives and poor peasants, allied to the soldiers, were the first forms of the new power in the liberated areas.

With the victory of National Independence the struggle against attempts to distort the revolutionary content of our fight intensified. The recent political and ideological battles to destroy the colonial capitalist state apparatus, against economic sabotage and the destabilisation of our power, are other such moments in the defence of our fundamental interests.

This is not a theoretical and abstract battle. It is a battle where the improvement of our life, the possibility that we, and in particular our children, may live in prosperity and comfort, is at stake.

There is a radical difference between the power of the working class and its fundamental ally, the peasantry, and the power of the exploiters.

The working class and the peasantry constitute the overwhelming majority of our people, the essence of the working classes. Their power is the power of the vast majority, their interests are the interests of the vast majority of the people. They exercise power as the vast majority and impose their will on the handful of exploiters.

Another fundamental aspect, perhaps the principal one, of the holding of power by the working class is that by freeing itself and holding power, it not only liberates itself, but liberates and benefits the whole society. The power of the working class leads to the harmonious development of the whole society.

The working class, contrary to all other classes, is the only social formation which, by virtue of its class position, can never claim private ownership of the means of production. There is no point in a worker becoming the owner of a machine in a factory, he cannot do anything with one machine, he cannot produce. In order to produce the worker needs a collection of machines and other means. The industrial production process is highly collectivised, planned; without this the factory stops. The appearance of the working class as the class leading to the progress of society as a whole, stems precisely from this fundamental contradiction of capitalism – the contradiction between the highly collective production process and the private ownership of the means of production. The working class resolves the contradiction, collectivising the means of production and this benefits the whole society.

If we consider our experiences over these two years we can see evidence of this fact. In our country education was controlled by private interests. Before we nationalised education only 695,885 children, a great many of these foreign, attended school. Education today benefits more than 1,300,000 children. Education today benefits all the people. We already have free education up to the 6th class. After nationalisation the number of secondary schools rose from 43 to 103 in two years.

At this moment the People are discussing the law on the socialisation of medicine, a law that will make medical assistance virtually free. We can already see how attendance at our hospitals has increased after the nationalisation of health, after the conquest of health by the workers. For example, the number of medical appointments for children at the Maputo Central Hospital, which was 3,537 in the first six months of 1973, rose to 35,488 in the first six months of 1977. That is, a ten-fold increase.

How was it possible that, only two years after independence, we could take a measure such as the socialisation of medicine, an objective that in many countries appears to be utopian or unachievable?

The answer is this: It was the end of the rule of the exploiters, it was the power of the people!

In the field of supplies, despite the difficulties and speculation that we have still not managed to eliminate, we can see that in the state farms, in the cooperatives and in the people's shops or on their stalls, prices are lower, cheaper. Even in sectors where we have not yet intervened, as in the case of clothing and footwear, we can nevertheless already compare the prices in the people's shops and consumer cooperatives with the prices in the private sector.

In all the towns of our country, large or small, we know the rents of the houses. Today, because we nationalised rented buildings, we pay much cheaper rents than before. We can state with virtual certainty that house rents in our country are among the lowest on the whole African continent.

These are some examples of the results of working class gains in our country: They are still few and recent, but already show to everyone how the conquests of the working class benefit the entire society. The children who go to school and to hospital, the citizens who live in the buildings are not only workers and peasants, they belong to all social strata that is, the measures taken by the working class benefit all: including members of the petit bourgeoisie. Only the big exploiters do not benefit.

The Nature of Dictatorship

Power is always the power of a class. When a class imposes its will, those who refuse to accept this imposition must be forced to, those who oppose this will must be repressed. That is why we say that all state power, any State, any power, is a dictatorship. For example, colonialism forced us not to be Mozambicans, forced us to accept and to say that we were not Mozambicans, forced us to accept the *machila,* forced labour, the *palmatória,* the pillage of land and cattle, forced us to accept the lack of medical assistance, the lack of schools, illiteracy etc. If we did not accept all this we were beaten, arrested, deported, murdered, massacred. This was colonial-capitalist dictatorship exercised by the colonial-capitalist state.

In our country this colonial-capitalist dictatorship was exercised through the particularly oppressive forms of fascism: deprivation of all liberties and the prohibition of any form of political activity. The people had to impose their will on Portuguese colonialism. The people had to repress colonialism with weapons in hand. The antagonistic contradiction that set us against Portuguese colonialism took its most acute form with the war that lasted ten years. After winning national independence we had to continue imposing our interests and our will on the class enemy, and on imperialism which attacks us. That is why we are engaged in creating a strong army, in strengthening our defensive capacity in order to force imperialism to respect the frontiers of our State and our sovereignty.

A third aspect that characterises our power is that it practises dictatorship and repression against an exploiting minority, thus enabling the broad masses to benefit from greater democracy, the fullest liberties. Our power represses the exploiters, prevents them from pillaging our riches and keeping the broad masses in permanent misery. If we had not wielded our power against the land speculators, we could not have benefited from free land on which to build the house we live in. If we had not destroyed the power of the landowners it would have been impossible for us to create the state farms and co-operatives, that improve the peasants' lives and provide us with abundant, good and cheap agricultural products. If we had not repressed the saboteurs of our economy, the colonists and bourgeoisie who want to transfer abroad huge sums of money and goods and equipment necessary to our economy, we would not have foreign exchange to buy the tractor for the cooperative, to import the essential articles that we do not yet produce.

This repression that we practise against a handful benefits the vast majority. We are freeing ourselves from hunger, nakedness and misery because we were capable of exercising our power against those who were the agents of these evils. No-one gave us the land or the buildings. We will only have what we are capable of imposing.

It is in this way that real freedom is being born, real democracy, not the freedom of words.

Despite our limitations in personnel and cadres, despite the backward economic development we inherited, the masses are mobilised; they have a deep sense of their interests and that they are fighting to improve their life. The soil is fertile for the progress of the Revolution.

This situation determines the nature of our power, the nature of the dictatorship we practise: democratic, revolutionary dictatorship.

Our dictatorship is democratic by virtue of the very nature of the classes that wield power, the working class and the peasantry. It is democratic by virtue of the liberties that are won and practised by the broad working masses; our people, through the Assemblies, will effectively wield power; our people are materialising the right to education, to health, to housing, to work, the right to clothe and feed themselves properly, the right to a better life, to progress. Our dictatorship is revolutionary because it introduces radical transformations in the social relations of production, transformations in the consciousness of men, transformations that enable the transition to the next stage - the stage of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the stage of socialist democracy.

Frelimo Directives

Honourable Deputies,

The Third Congress of FRELIMO took place from 3 to 7 February this year.

Within the framework of the construction of the new society the Third Congress was of fundamental historical importance. Here we drew up the essential strategy for our struggle in the phase of the construction of People's Democracy. Here we created the Party of the working class, the Vanguard Party and highest form of organisation of the working classes, the Marxist Leninist Party. Here we defined our line of action in all fields: in the building of the People's Democratic State, in the organisation of collective life, in the construction of our developed and independent economy at the service of the broad masses, in defence of our country and our Revolution.

Analysis of the present political, economic and social situation of our country shows that we have taken important steps towards the State's fulfilment of the directives of the Third Congress.

At the level of the State apparatus the fight to destroy the structures and methods of work of the colonial-capitalists has been continued and intensified. A new system of collective leadership is being implemented at various levels of the State apparatus. One important step towards the construction of the new State apparatus was the decision taken by the Council of Ministers to create Productivity Control Councils in the State structures, extending to these the experience of the Production Councils.

However, difficulties continue in the implementation of State organs at Provincial, District and Locality levels.

During this period the creation of State structures to direct the economic sector was stimulated, although its effectiveness is very limited because of delays in the establishment of its local structures. In order to solve the most urgent and serious national problems, the principle of creating special inter-ministerial committees was adopted.

We also began to establish the bases for the scientific planning of the economy.

The State is rapidly becoming the organiser and transformer of our economic and social life.

In the countryside, we have witnessed the rapid and forceful growth of the communal village and co-operative movement, and the development of state farms. This is already achieving particular success in the Limpopo Valley, because of its size and because it is where the masses are overcoming the great difficulties and damage caused by natural disasters.

In the industrial sector our efforts are being concentrated on increasing production and productivity, the reorganisation of production units with administrative committees, the formation of management units for each branch of production, the nationalisation of strategic sectors, as the case of oil refining, the definition of prototype statutes for the state enterprises and the regulation of activity in the private sector.

In order to progressively normalise trading we created the National Supply Commission, with the priority task of resolving the most serious problems in the supply of basic necessities. We strengthened control over imports and wholesale distribution, widened the network of People's Shops in all the Provinces and intensified the formation of consumer co-operatives throughout the country.

In the social sectors we registered important victories, particularly in health and education. During this period we materialised the priority given to preventive medicine through a series of activities, notably the national vaccination campaign which reached 93 to 98% of the population, very significant figures on the African continent. The training of 548 health personnel this year was ten times the number trained in 1974. In primary and secondary education together we created about three thousand schools, trained thousands of teachers and more than doubled the school population in relation to 1974.

We find that with the progress in the implementation of the Third Congress directives, the class struggle in our country is intensifying. The enemy adopts new modes of action, more subtle and subversive. Reaction tries to take advantage of our shortcomings for its attack against our people. This situation is particularly evident in the shortages of basic products essential to the population and other goods essential for the growth of our economy. At the same time, economic sabotage, speculation, hoarding and the flight of foreign exchange, are actions developed by the enemy.

In the document *How the enemy Acts*, the Council of Ministers analysed the modes of action of imperialism, which reckons with the complicity of the bourgeoisie, that is still strong in our country. The strategy of imperialism is to provoke discontent and social unrest at home, while from outside it intensifies the escalation of aggression against our country, our people and our Revolution, using the illegal racist regime of Southern Rhodesia as its main instrument.

We are vulnerable to the enemy's action because of the shortcomings of our structures and our methods of work. The habit of day-to-day planning, defining and keeping to priorities in each sector, does not exist. Sabotage and delaying actions are not immediately detected because control of the execution of tasks is disorganised. When we point out the failures many people merely attribute them to enemy action, with no thought given to inadequacies in their own work. This form of opportunism must be energetically fought.

The removal of the enemy from the state apparatus is one of the conditions for winning the class fight. We must intensify the implantation of the Party in the State apparatus so that it becomes proof against infiltration, and incorrect methods of work alien to the life of the masses are eliminated.

We know that the destruction of the old is accompanied by the construction of the new. The construction of a new kind of State that materialises the interests of the working masses, necessarily implies the creation of the People's Assemblies. They will create conditions for the working masses to feel that the State is an instrument for the realisation of their aspirations.

Proletarian Internationalism

Honourable Deputies,

Throughout the period following the Third Congress of FRELIMO we witnessed a significant growth in the international prestige of our Party and State. Our international policy, founded on the principles of proletarian internationalism and peace is widely understood and supported in Africa and the world. It has led to the strengthening of links of solidarity with other peoples and the development of relations of friendship and co-operation with numerous States.

Our diplomatic and commercial relations with the socialist counties, the African States and the world in general have grown, based on the principles of equality, non-interference in internal affairs, mutual respect and reciprocity of benefits. Of particular importance has been the development of intimate relations of friendship, co-operation and mutual help with the brother countries of the "Front line", especially with the United Republic of Tanzania and the Republic of Zambia to whom we are already united by agreements of friendship and co-operation. It is in our interest, and an integral part of our policy, to develop identical relations of friendship and co-operation with all our neighbouring States. In this respect we have maintained very close contact with the People's Republic of Angola, Democratic Republic of Madagascar, and the Kingdoms of Swaziland and Lesotho.

The international situation is developing favourably for the cause of freedom and independence, for the cause of revolution. The new conditions created by the victories of the national and social liberation struggle and the strengthening of the socialist zone make it possible for peoples to face imperialism successfully, to go forward on the road to socialism and to preserve world peace.

Nevertheless, the imperialist, racist and Zionist circles try to counteract this evolution. Supported by imperialism, the racist and Zionist systems transform Southern Africa and the Middle East into the two main areas of international tension. In both cases, regimes condemned by all humanity intensify the arms race and are preparing themselves to introduce atomic weapons.

It is with surprise and indignation that the international community sees the Western countries, which created all the favourable conditions for Pretoria to have nuclear weapons, now hypocritically proposing to condemn the nuclear experiments that the racist regime shortly intends to make. These same Western countries have already supplied Pretoria with the necessary aircraft for the apartheid regime to carry out nuclear attacks against Africa.

Combining political and diplomatic manoeuvres with economic blackmail and military aggression, the western powers try to destroy the people's regimes, particularly on the African continent.

The aggression against the People's Republic of Mozambique and Angola, the invasion of the People's Republic of Benin, the assassination of our dear Comrade Marien N'Gouabi form part of this vast plan to try and make the wheel of history turn backwards.

Within the same perspective imperialism, using local reactionary forces and the exacerbation of secondary questions, encourages conflicts between African States, to the detriment of the people's interests and the cause of the Revolution in Africa.

In the Indian Ocean the evil presence of air bases and fleets of imperialist countries continues, against the expressed wish of all the countries bordering on the zone.

In South Africa, under the leadership of ANC, the struggle of the broad masses against the apartheid system has intensified. The great popular uprisings, symbolised by Soweto, demonstrate the people's fighting capacity, the fragility of the regime, the incapacity of the repressive system to hold back the people's movement.

In Namibia, the victories achieved by SWAPO combined with international action, have led to certain positive developments. However, the South African refusal to recognise SWAPO as the legitimate representative of the Namibian people persists, as does the South African refusal to acknowledge the unity and territorial integrity of Namibia.

The victories of the Patriotic Front in the field of unity are the basis of the great political, military and diplomatic successes achieved by the Zimbabwe People. The Patriotic Front has been recognised by Africa as the representative of the People of Zimbabwe. Inside Zimbabwe the political and military fight, the national liberation struggle, is developing rapidly. Sensitive and strategic enemy zones are being hit by the liberating action of the patriots. The international community has reinforced its condemnation and isolation of the rebel minority Government.

Our state has followed attentively the consultations of the Namibia question between the five western members of the Security Council. If these consultations are taking place within the context of Security Council Resolution 385, if they are aimed at the total and complete independence of the whole territory of Namibia, including Walvis Bay, if the five western powers do not aim to substitute SWAPO or the Namibian people, if they respect the will of the Namibian people, expressed through SWAPO, their only and legitimate representative, then the western initiative will be a success.

We have also followed with great attention the Anglo American initiatives with regard to Zimbabwe. In the past these initiatives have systematically failed because of the intransigence of the minority, illegal and racist regime. The experience of 12 years of negotiations has shown that the rebel colonists refuse to abandon power, shielded as they are by the support and complicity they receive. The solution to the Zimbabwe problem is through recognition of the Patriotic Front, and acceptance of the necessity to impose the dismantling of the repressive rebel apparatus.

In close alliance with the "Front Line" countries and as in the past, the People's Republic of Mozambique will fulfil unconditionally its internationalist duty towards the struggle of the Zimbabwe People and other oppressed peoples.

Honourable Deputies,

The creation of the People's Assemblies marks a decisive stage in the process of the construction of People's Power. It is in the Assemblies that our Power is materialised, it is in the Assemblies and through them that the people effectively exercise power, it is in the Assemblies that the people's democratic order we are building finds its political foundation at state level.

In our country, the Assemblies already have a history, they were forged in our struggle and in our blood. Our Assemblies are born of and are rooted in the democratic tradition lived by the masses in the liberated areas. They are born of the frequent people's meetings, they are born of the collective and democratic structures, from the circle to the Province; and it was through them that the life of the masses was decided by the masses themselves, led by the political line of FRELIMO. The creation of the Assemblies also draws its inspiration from the lessons learned in the experience that our people, under the leadership of FRELIMO, have already gained through the creation and functioning of the *Grupos Dinamizadores*, the Democratic Mass Organisations, and the Production Councils, as well as through the many other activities that imply the political participation of the broad masses.

At every level of the State, the Assemblies are the supreme expression of the interests and will of the working class and its fundamental ally, the peasantry. The Assemblies have complete power at each level because:

- They are representative of the working classes, owing to the democratic election of their members.

- They comprise the most dedicated elements of the people, who win the people's confidence by their behaviour, and whose actions symbolise what we want to build.

The People's Assemblies exercise power in a co-ordinated and unitary manner. Through their powers, and the way in which they exercise such powers, the Assemblies are organs of decision, execution and control. Because the Assemblies cannot be permanently in session, they create the appropriate instruments to exercise the power that is inherent to them – thus arise the governmental or state apparatus and the judicial apparatus. But at each level these do not exist separate from the Assembly; they are the instruments created by the Assembly, that report to the Assembly, are subordinated to the Assembly, execute the will of the Assembly.

Democratic Centralism

The Assemblies and the organs created by them are governed by the principles of Democratic Centralism.

At each level all the state organs are responsible, on the one hand, to the Assemblies at the respective level and, on the other hand, to the state organs at the higher levels. Thus, for example, the Locality Government is subordinate to, on the one hand, the Locality Assembly and, on the other hand, the state organs of the District.

The unity of power, democratic centralism and double subordination are the three pillars on which the functioning and organisation of the Assemblies and the apparatus created by them rest. It is these three principles that, for the first time at national level, enable the working class and its fundamental ally, the peasantry, to exercise full power.

The unity of power, or its division, is a theme that has concerned bourgeois jurists. According to them there are three powers, the legislative, the executive and the judicial, as a condition for what they classify as the political and social equilibrium of society. A brief analysis shows that in a bourgeois society there existed in reality only the power of the bourgeoisie.

Legislative power was an expression of the class power of the bourgeoisie. The laws were made by the bourgeoisie and served the interests of the bourgeoisie. It was these laws that legitimated colonialism and exploitation, it was these laws that condemned us severely if we opposed the bourgeoisie. It was the Assemblies and the parliaments of the bourgeoisie that created the laws introducing forced labour in our country, that made the laws that took our lands for the colonial settlements, that created the laws that forced us to cultivate cotton and sell it to the companies at derisory prices.

Judicial power was also the power of the bourgeoisie. The courts, ostensibly just and impartial, were bourgeois courts that judged and condemned us in keeping with the bourgeois laws where judges and lawyers came from the bourgeoisie, represented the bourgeoisie and traded with our most elementary rights in favour of the bourgeoisie. In the courts the winner was not the one who was right, but he who had the money to pay the best lawyer, he who had influence and friends, he who was the owner of the factory and not the worker, he who was the landowner and not the peasant, he who was the landlord and not the servant. The bourgeois courts never condemned the torturers of PIDE, but condemned the victims of PIDE. They never condemned those who organised and conducted massacres in our country, but condemned and punished severely those who dared to denounce such massacres.

Colonial executive power was also an instrument of the bourgeoisie. From the Governor-General to the *Chefe de posto* the whole colonial administrative apparatus had a single objective, to do everything so that the big companies, the capitalists, could exploit the people. It was the colonial administration that was responsible for the massive and coercive recruitment of Mozambicans for forced labour, it was the colonial state that was responsible for the expulsion of Mozambicans from the fertile lands where they later installed the colonial settlements, and for collecting the taxes with which it financed the army and the other repressive forces that arrested, beat, murdered and massacred us.

The so-called system of the separation of power is nothing more than a division of tasks between the servants of the same class, camouflage for the power of the bourgeois class, a power that is exercised for the benefit of a handful of exploiters and to the detriment of the interests of the broad working masses.

The main task of the People's Assemblies, in addition to the structuring of the state organs, is to promote the social progress of the workers, through the consolidation of state order and discipline, and the continuous raising of production and productivity. They depend on the maximum participation of the people in carrying out the tasks of the state.

Under the leadership of FRELIMO, the People's Assemblies contribute towards the understanding and implementation of the decisions of the Third Congress of FRELIMO in all sectors of activity in the country, as well as to the deepening of national unity and consolidation of the democratic revolutionary dictatorship.

In our People's Assembly, we are the Deputies, we workers, we peasants, we who are born of the exploited people.

Our aim is to build a New Society that corresponds to our interests. Our methods of work must be simple and effective and our decisions must be democratic in both form and content. In content because they correspond to the real interests of the broad masses. In form, because the broad masses participate in drawing up the decisions and feel that they are theirs.

The Assemblies must dedicate themselves to solving concrete problems in the People's lives, making every effort to resolve them. Difficulties in water supply to a communal village or communal suburb, difficulties in outlets for goods produced by the people, the school that must be opened, the road that must be cut in the middle of the bush, the shop that must be opened, the cooperative that must be supported, the cultural and sporting activities that are disorganised, these are some of the problems that should preoccupy our Assemblies, that each Deputy must study and resolve in the People's interest. The Assemblies, the deputies, must be constantly concerned to control the working and efficiency of all the services at their level, to watch and ensure that each civil servant, each public servant, represents our State correctly, reinforcing unity between the People and the State. The Assemblies must guarantee that all citizens get effective support and a non-bureaucratic solution to their problems, within existing possibilities, from the state services. The Assemblies must punish severely those civil servants who, by their behaviour, reveal neglect, incompetence or insensitivity towards the People.

In this context, the Locality Assemblies are of the utmost importance because, since they are the first level of the People's Power, they are thus more directly linked to the daily life of the masses.

In our country, in our elections, we are designating our representatives, those who serve the people, those who will effectively direct the State of the worker-peasant alliance, in the name of the working class and the peasantry. The future deputies live and work with us in the factory, in the state enterprise, in the cooperative, in the barracks, in the public office, in the school, in the hospital, in the shops, in the restaurant, on the fishing boat, in the cobbler's, everywhere where we work and live. Our deputy is our companion in the factory who, in the difficult hours of confusion and economic sabotage, led us in the battle to raise production and productivity, he is the worker who fought indiscipline and carelessness, who looked after his machine so that it would always work for us. Our deputy is the best peasant in the cooperative, he who mobilises the masses to integrate themselves into the communal village, he who raises our vigilance, who, by his example and words, teaches us to produce more and better. Our deputy is the soldier, the conscientious policeman, with an iron discipline and total dedication to the service of the people and the Revolution, our deputy defends our frontiers against criminal invaders, our deputy guarantees the tranquillity and peace of our streets and homes against reactionaries and bandits. Our deputy is the doctor, the nurse, the midwife who does everything so that in hospital the people can find health, who continually act so that we can learn about and defend health in our villages, suburbs and work-places. Our deputy is the teacher and the conscientious student, the scientist and the artist who fight so that science and culture can become the people's instruments, assumed by the people. Our deputy is the civil servant and the employee, those who, in the public offices and firms, fulfil the noble mission of serving the people with the efficiency of their work, showing sensitivity and respect in their dealings with people. Our deputy is the miner and fisher--man, the waiter and hotel worker, the typist and driver, the cobbler and carpenter, the artisan and small trader, in short, all those who serve the people with their exemplary work.

Honourable Deputies,

With the present session of the People's Assembly a vast process of explanation, mobilisation and organisation of our people for the holding of general elections for the People's Assemblies, is set in motion. From the Rovuma to the Maputo, the people are going to elect their Assemblies.

The Party and the State must take the necessary measures to ensure that our elections are a school for the education and political formation of our people. The elections for the Assemblies must contribute to a striking development of the democratic habits of active and conscious participation in the political life of the country, among our people and here once again we differ absolutely from the electoral forces of the bourgeoisie, where the citizen's participation in political life is limited to the formality of depositing a voting card in an urn every few years. In our factories, cooperatives and state farms, in our barracks, in our schools, public offices and hospitals, in our communal villages and suburbs, citizens will meet, not only to get to know and choose the deputies, but also to discuss in depth the meaning of the elections in the process of the consolidation of People's Power, the importance they have in the history of our country, and the forms which, after the election, popular participation in the direction of the State, should take. In their turn, the candidates for deputies will present themselves to the masses, not to make demagogic promises, but to discuss with them the programme of activities to be implemented, through the participation of everyone, in fulfilment of the tasks defined by the Third Congress.

The holding of general elections and the formation of the People's Assemblies are a decisive step forward in the consolidation of People's Democratic Power. As such, they must be accompanied by wide mobilisation campaigns of our People aimed at other forms of consolidating our class power.

Mozambican men and women,
Workers, Peasants, Fighters in the FPLM and Para Military Forces, Employees, Students, Teachers, Intellectuals, Artists, Patriots, Mozambicans,

Let us engage resolutely in the great task of preparing and organising the general elections for the Assemblies under the slogan:

> "Let us elect the Assemblies to consolidate People's Power and improve our life."

Long live the Mozambican People, united from the Rovuma to the Maputo.

Long live FRELIMO, Vanguard Party of the Mozambican working classes!

Long live the Third Congress of FRELIMO;

Long live the People's Democratic Power;

Long live the People's Democratic Revolution, path to Socialism!

Long live the organised people!

Long live the People's Assemblies!

The struggle continues!

LISTEN TO THE

VOICE OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS AND UMKHONTO WE SIZWE

RADIO TANZANIA – External Service (Dar es Salaam)

on 15435 Khz 19 metre band on shortwave

10 p.m. SA time, Sundays, Mondays, Wednesdays, Fridays

LUANDA RADIO

40 and 30 metre bands on shortwave

27.6 metre band on medium wave

7.30 p.m. SA time

LUSAKA RADIO

31 and 49 metre bands on shortwave

6.10 p.m. SA time

U.S. LABOUR CONSPIRACY IN AFRICA

by R.S.Nyameko

This article will examine the African-American Labour Centre: Who are its sponsors? Who runs it? What are its aims and methods of work?

The AALC was established by the AFL-CIO. The AFL did not participate in or support, in fact strongly opposed, the establishment of the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) in October 1945.

The American State Department aimed at economic expansion based on the control of foreign markets by the economic and financial trusts of American capitalism. It launched the cold war against the Soviet Union, the newly established Democratic Socialist Republics in Eastern Europe, and all progressive movements the world over. The American State Department found a staunch supporter of this policy in the AFL's President George Meany.

The CIO had affiliated to the WFTU. Then George Meany injected his reactionary ideas into the CIO, which together with the TUC and the Dutch NVV representative broke away from the WFTU movement, and established the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions

(ICFTU) in 1949, in order to undermine the Socialist oriented WFTU.

But the ICFTU was not enough. In the early 1950's George Meany charged that the "ICFTU was soft on communism and was leaving a vacuum in underdeveloped lands – Africa, Asia, Latin America". AFL-CIO which was established in 1955 broke away from the ICFTU and Meany later admitted that the AFL-CIO had financed a split in the communist-controlled CGT in France, and helped to establish the breakaway Force Ouvriere – F.O. Meany said, "We paid for it and split it". They were also responsible for splitting the trade unions in Italy.

Thomas W. Braden tells the story:

"On the desk in front of me as I write these lines is a creased and faded yellow paper. It bears the following inscription in pencil: 'Received from Warren G. Haskins, 15,000 dollars (signed) Norris A. Grambe'

".....I was Warren G. Haskins. Norris A. Grambe was Irving Brown of the American Federation of Labor. The 15,000 dollars was from the vaults of the CIA....

"It was my idea to give the 15,000 dollars to Irving Brown. He needed it to pay off his strong-arm squads in Mediterranean ports, so that American supplies could be unloaded against the opposition of communist dock workers. It was also my idea to give cash, along with advice, to other labor leaders, to students, professors and others who could help the United States in its battle with communist fronts....

".....In 1947 The Communist *Confederation General de Travail* led a strike in Paris which came very near to paralyzing the French economy.....

"Into this crisis stepped Lovestone and his assistant, Irving Brown. With funds from Dubinsky's union, they organised *Force Ouvriere,* a non-communist union. When they ran out of money, they appealed to the CIA. Thus began the secret subsidy of free trade unions which soon spread to Italy.....

".....the first rule of our operational plan (was) 'Limit the money to amounts private organisations can credibly spend'. The other rules were equally obvious, 'Use legitimate, existing organisations; disguise the extent of American interest; protect the integrity of the organisation by not requiring it to support every aspect of official American policy'." (1)

We shall see that the rules outlined here were carefully adhered to by

Irving Brown and his team of disrupters.

Drew Pearson and Jack Anderson in their exposure of the CIA "estimated CIA money paid to AFL-CIO in 1967 was around 100 million U.S. dollars a year, (is) probably the largest fund dished out by the CIA to anyone.

"This payment and the foreign policy which goes with it are the chief bone of contention between AFL-CIO President George Meany and AFL-CIO Vice President Walter Reuther of the United Auto Workers – UAW. It has come close to splitting the powerful AFL-CIO combine..." UAW pulled out of the AFL-CIO in 1968. (2)

The UAW pulled out of the federation "because they wanted the AFL-CIO to fight harder to recruit new members and to crusade more" (3) – on issues like programmes for migrant workers and the millions of working poor, civil rights, etc. The UAW also wanted the federation to refuse CIA subsidies. (4)

Unorganised Workers

What is the AFL-CIO position in the U.S.A.?

Less than one third of U.S.A. workers are organised and a fifth of organised workers are outside the AFL-CIO. The AFL-CIO represents 13.6 million workers; but "more than 60 million workers in the U.S.A. are unorganised. One trade unionist said: "AFL-CIO's Department of Organising has, in just a few years, dwindled from a staff of 600 to an extremely cautious staff of 300, and those remaining are fearful that the entire organisation department will soon be dismantled". (5)

In this highly industrialised country, most workers are unprotected by a union – but this doesn't bother the AFL-CIO leadership.

These so-called "trade unionists" learned how to split unions in other countries by starting with their own.

As Fred Hirsch puts it:

"Instead of pushing for organisation of the unorganised, we shouted 'communist' at those unions which would not buy U.S. foreign policy without asking questions. In place of action to end all discrimination in our unions, we kicked out those unions fighting hardest against discrimination and called them 'red'. Instead of strengthening our ties with unions around the world.....we split international labour groups. We put our arm around the boss's shoulder and it was 'Yes sir, brother!' "(6)

When in 1974 the official unemployment level rose towards 10% (it is three to four times that among blacks and youth) the leadership of the International Union of Electricians (AFL-CIO), the UAW and others called for demonstrations. Typically, Meany oppossed mass demonstrations; but the AFL-CIO's Industrial Union Department was forced by workers' pressure to call for one. Meany and his friends tried desperately, even then, to limit it to union members, to keep out youth, unorganised workers and the unemployed – who, being hardest hit, are often the most militant.

Meany supported the U.S. Government's aggression in Vietnam, though surveys showed the workers were overwhelmingly opposed to it:

"When we, the American people, demonstrated by the millions against war, the head of the AFL-CIO shouted 'traitors and kooks and commies'.

"Instead of joining with the American people in the massive moves for peace and the continuing battle against racism, we have seen our 'leaders' take a chair in the corner of the boardroom while the Nixons, the ITTs, the Kennecott Coppers and Standard Oils and United Fruit Company work out a policy of 'co-operation and consensus'." (7)

The purpose of the CIA and its hirelings is to further the foreign policies of the U.S. Government. It seeks largely to advance America's self-appointed role as the dominant arbiter of social, economic and political change in the awakening regions of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

We have established the role of AFL-CIO as an agent of CIA, and that the AFL-CIO have not organised their own workers. We shall now establish that the AFL-CIO's launching of centres outside the U.S.A. is to carry out the dirty work of the CIA.

The AFL-CIO established the American Institute for Free Labour Development – AIFLD – as a joint project of the AFL-CIO and U.S. industrialists for 'training' Latin Americans for what they call 'free' unionism. The result of their work is the drowning in blood of the progressive governments in Latin America and the prevention of a forward movement in Latin American countries.

The AIFLD gets an 8 million dollar subsidy from the Agency for International Development – AID.

AID was set up after the 1962 exposure by Cuba of the CIA, and the subsequent 1966-67 exposures of the CIA. (8)

Allen Dulles summed up their prevailing attitude. Referring to the CIA's coups in Iran and Guatemala, he wrote:

"Where there begins to be evidence that a country is slipping and communist takeover is threatened.....we can't wait for an engraved invitation to come and give aid". (9)

We know that the CIA aid in Guatemala resulted in the killing of 20,000 Guatemaleens in 1971.

What Happened in Chile

The CIA used the AIFLD to subvert Chilean unions. The African-American Labor Centre (AALC) says that the AIFLD is a "sister institution". (10)

The AIFLD did not affect most Chilean workers, whose unions "are affiliated with CUT (United Workers' Centre) which was one of the mainstays of the workers' government".

AIFLD's role in Chile is traced by one writer:

"With the election of Allende, tensions grew between Chile and the U.S. State Department. Most credits and economic aid were cut off, with two exceptions: U.S. military aid.....(and) 1 million dollars of AID money set aside for 'technical assistance'. Much of this (840,000 dollars) was for the continued operation of AIFLD....

"AIFLD was especially active among elite professional employees: engineers, supervisors and executives.....in May 1971 AIFLD assisted the formation of the Confederation of Chilean Professionals (CUPROCH). CUPROCH was started in the copper industry but became an important national force quickly, when it supported the truck owners and merchants strike in October 1972. The former secretary general of CUPROCH says that the federation was suddenly flooded with funds towards the end of the strike". (11)

Truck stoppages took place in October 1972 and July 1973. The first alone cost Chile 100-150 million dollars. Both were apparently financed by the CIA. This played a "key role in bringing about the coup"; another factor was a management "strike" on the copper mines.

The CIA's Director, Colby, says 8 million dollars was used to overthrow the Chilean government; other estimates are higher.

In the resulting coup, at least 20,000 Chileans, mostly workers, were massacred. An ILO Commission found that many trade unionists "died or were executed", with or without trial, and sometimes through torture. Others are still in jail. Trade union elections, submission of claims to employers, and collective bargaining are strictly prohibited: "The right to strike is non-existent". (12)

The Spider and the Fly

The African American Labour Centre was founded by the AFL–CIO in 1964. Its proclaimed objectives are:-

"To strengthen African trade unions. To provide direct assistance to African trade unions in union development and *leadership training,* workers' education, vocational training, co-operatives and credit unions, labour economics, communication, and other areas related to the welfare of the workers, and to promote solidarity between African unions and American workers. (13)

These are laudable objectives, but in practice the AALC served as a vast blanket for drawing the 'fly' into the spider's web. Britain, as the foremost colonial power in Africa, made a pertinent observation on the AFL-CIO:

"The Americans are not interested in the creation in Africa of genuine trade unions. America has no labour party. Her trade union movement has been built from above by highly paid trade union bosses.....who are isolated from the rank and file.....As a result, the American trade union leaders such as Meany.....can afford directly and openly to execute government and particularly CIA policy". (14)

How does the AALC execute U.S.A. government and CIA policy?

The AALC undertook nearly 200 projects between 1965 and 1973, in "workers' education and leadership training, vocational training, co-operatives and credit unions, social services, information and communications, and study tours and visitors' programmes....(15) They were established in 34 countries, with major programmes in Botswana, Dahomey, Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Liberia, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Swaziland, Upper Volta, Zaire and Lesotho.

These undertakings cost large sums of money. Where does the money come from?

The funds do not come directly from American workers "in solidarity with their African brothers", except indirectly as American taxpayers. According to the figures given below for the period from 1965 to August 1967, funds came from:

	Dollars
AFL-CIO and individual Unions	425,000.00 (or 19½%)
U.S. Agency for International Development AID	1,769,539.00 (or 79%)
Private contributions	57,000.00 (or 2½%)
	2,251,539.00 (16)

This shows that four-fifths came from the U.S.A. government. The AFL-CIO and other unions contributed less than 20%. No comparable figures have been given since.

The AALC's impact is largely due to the enormous amount of money it spends – over 8 million dollars between its establishment and the end of 1972 (17) and the rate is apparently increasing. The seminars and technical projects are involving unsuspecting African trade unionists. The AALC uses the seminars and projects to push their views for a "stable industrial relations system" that trade unions should promote "economic stability". (18)

But what do they mean by stability?

Not stability based on a better deal for workers: rather, stagnation, with colonial relationships continued in industry. But the nationality and political nature of colonialism is changed to this extent, that U.S. industrialists replace the British, French, Portuguese, Belgian and Spanish colonialists. The relationships inside the factories, farms and mines stay the same.

The AALC in Africa

The AALC utilises every opportunity to "use legitimate existing organisations", in Thomas Braden's words, to ensnare African leaders.

Such an opportunity was taken by the AALC on 6 June 1971, at Geneva, when AALC invited African, Asian and Latin American delegates, observers and their spouses, who were attending the ILO conference to a luncheon and dinner.

The gilded invitations were dished out and invitees were taken by bus to the picturesque Centre d'Etudes et Des Loisirs – the AALC Centre. The building was built by the Swiss Building Workers' Union in 1908, and in 1958 the AALC purchased it.

The reception committee comprised Irving Brown, Director of

AALC, the ALF-CIO delegation to ILO, U.S. diplomats and Nana Mahomo of the PAC who was introduced by Irving Brown as a seasoned trade union leader of "South Africa". (Nana Mohomo left South Africa whilst a student at U.C.T. and was at no time connected with African or any other trade unions.)

The African contingent assembled for the luncheon. After the luncheon Irving Brown gave a talk on the AALC and the assistance it gives African countries. He referred to AALC Centres in Africa and to various seminars held in Africa on a regional basis, by one country taking the initiative and inviting a neighbouring country.

The AALC had adopted a policy of surrounding South Africa, he said, "We shall establish bases in Malawi, Swaziland, and Botswana, such as a Trade Union Insitute and auto repair shop like we have established in Nigeria, a Trade Union Institute and a Labour College in Ghana, an AALC Pan-African Cooperative Training Centre in Ghana, an AALC Pan-African Cooperative Training Centre in Dahomey, a garment making school and a Labour College in Kenya, and so on".

Irving Brown spoke of ALF-CIO work in Latin America and Zaire, how they prevented strikes (which proved the AALC's worth to American industrialists and capitalists) and how the AALC subsequently received big donations for their work.

The film on South Africa 'End of the Dialogue' produced by Mahomo, which they claimed they produced and financed, was shown to the visitors. Later in the afternoon the Latin American and Asian contingents arrived for dinner and the African contingent was taken back to Geneva.

It is at such costly functions that representatives of countries are ensnared to participate in new AALC projects. The AALC uses every annual International Labour Conference in Geneva to ensnare more victims for their spider web.

Force Ouvriere is a major ally of the AALC. Working towards a formal agreement with AALC, FO had established in March 1972 a so-called trade union 'Institue Syndical de Cooperation' – TUIC – with an FO secretary, Pierre Galoni, as director. The plan is for Galoni's TUIC and Brown's AALC to work jointly.

In June 1972, George Meany had a conference in Paris with Andre Bergeron, President of FO, and agreed on joint operations in French speaking former colonies. Afterwards they agreed that TUIC and

AALC work together. TUIC provides French speaking personnel and AALC the cash. (19) It need hardly be noted that FO has neither much membership nor treasury. The money will come through Brown. Galoni's men will provide the French language contacts (possibly among African students in France) and similar services.

How can one explain FO's willingness to enter such a partnership? To understand the meaning of this deal with FO, it is necessary to remember that through the years of inner struggle in the ICFTU, Force Ouvriere was in Meany's pocket, always 'pro-American', because, in fact FO is a creation of the AFL-CIO and CIA – with U.S. money. It is alleged that by 1974, the AFL was sending 5,000 dollars every three weeks, under Irving Brown's supervision.

With such backing, the AALC's role is predictable. Though CIA/AFL-CIO collaboration may not always reach such extremes as in Chile, its trade union philosphy is invariably reactionary. Blatantly or subtly, they teach that workers should not work towards changing the structure left by colonialism. They should welcome American investors and should not mind when U.S. multi-nationals stake out their territories economically, as the older colonial powers did in the 'scramble for Africa'. For example, they say that workers should be trained because investment from abroad will be made "if skilled African workers are available". (20)

Any unions which oppose U.S. domination are slandered mercilessly.

The AFL-CIO and the AALC claim to be working for regional co-operation by trade unions; but when a unified movement starts to form which is not sympathetic to the U.S. foreign policy or its investors, they step in with CIA money and do their best to split it.

The AALC attacked the All-African Trade Union Federation (AATUF) viciously because it "entered into signed agreements" with the WFTU and "passed resolutions which indicate increased reliance on revolutionary ideology" and said: "And who are the predominant members of AATUF? So-called trade union organisations in Algeria, Guinea, Tanzania and the UAR – countries where workers are totally indifferent to trade unions". (21)

For the 'crime' of being anti-imperialist and co-operating with an international trade union centre – WFTU (which the CIA and the AFL-CIO do not sanction) the trade unions of four African countries and the AATUF were vilified and scorned. The imperialists generously spend money for conducting splitting activities in the African trade union movement.

The AALC claims to be funded by AID – AID and CIA co-operate at all levels, the AID providing cover and funds for CIA operations. CIA personnel in Africa often work under cover of being AID employees. (22) As U.S. government agencies, they co-operate and share the same aims.

African Continent

Africa, despite its immense mineral and agricultural wealth, remains the least developed region in the world and our population suffers poverty, famine and a high rate of mortality. The riches of the continent are mainly exploited by foreign capitalist monopolies, imperialism and particularly U.S. imperialism with its CIA agencies directing its efforts to safeguard its interests.

The achievements of political independence for which the young African working class and trade unions struggled, was a real stimulus to the peoples' struggle for complete economic independence and seriously threatened imperialist interests. In many cases these struggles ended in revolutionary initiatives such as nationalising the property of the capitalist monopolies and setting up popular progressive governments in a number of young African states.

The AALC in its determination to subvert the African trade unions from their struggle for true economic and political democracy, sets out to corrupt the African trade union leaders by grants for education, paid trips to the U.S.A. and other conferences, seminars, symposiums which they organise in other parts of Africa. This practice encourages 'elitism and corruption'.

Their infiltration in African trade unions and policy statements are decided by the Board of Directors.

Who are they?

"George Meany is President of the AALC and Chairman of its Board of Directors. Other members of the Board are presidents or top officers of leading unions of the U.S.A. Irving Brown is Executive Director. Full administrative and program control rests with the Board of Directors and the Executive Director.

"Policy guidance is also provided by the African-American Consultative Committee, composed of four leading African trade unionists.

"Additional direction comes during yearly 'Exchanges of Views' which are held in Geneva with top African labor and government representatives brought together under the aegis of the AALC at the time of the annual conference of the ILO". (23)

In a subsequent article we will deal with some of AALC's activities in Africa and particularly in Southern Africa.

NOTES

1. *Saturday Evening Post*, 20.5.67: "I'm Glad the CIA is 'Immoral' ", by Thomas W. Braden.
2. *Washington Post* 24.2.67. CIA figure in "Reuther–Meany Rift".
3. *Time*, 3.3.75.
4. George Morris, *CIA and American Labour*, International Publishers, New York, 1967.
5. Fred Hirsch, *An Analysis of our AFL-CIO Role in Latin America or Under the Covers with the CIA*, (San Jose, California: mimeo, 1974).
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
8. *Evening Post*, USA 20.5.67.
9. Victor Marchetti and John Marks, *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence,* New York: Dell Publishing Co. Inc. 1975.
10. *AALC Reporter*, May 1972.
11. Fred Hirsch, op.cit.
12. ILO, *The Trade Union Situation in Chile* (Geneva, International Labour Office, 1975.)
13. *AALC Reporter*, August–September 1974, Vol IX, No.8, "Policy Statement".
14. Annex to British Cabinet Paper, *On Policy in Africa*, 1959.
15. African American Labour Centre 1965 – 1973.
16. *AALC* – Geneva, June 1967.
17. *AALC* 1965 – 1973.
18. African American Labour Centre 1965 – 1970.

19. *World Magazine*, 26.5.73.
    AALC Reporter, April 1972.
20. *AALC Reporter*, December 1971.
21. *AALC Reporter,* May 1972.
22. Bruce Oudes, "The CIA and Africa" in *Africa Report*, July – August 1974.
23. *AALC*, 1965 – 1973.

The basic principles of Marxism as seen in the context of the South African liberation movement.

PHILOSOPHY AND CLASS STRUGGLE

By Dialego

The four articles published in *The African Communist* are now available in pamphlet form.

1. Why revolutionaries need Marxism.
2. What is Dialectical Materialism?
3. Marxism and the Theory of Knowledge
4. The Materialist Theory of History.

Price 25p in Britain
50 cents elsewhere (US).

Available from

Inkululeko Publications
39 Goodge Street, London W1.

Apartheid laws shackle African workers

by David Davis

The Wiehahn Commission and the recent amendment to the Bantu Labour Relations Regulation Act are two further examples of the apartheid regime's continued determination to fragment African working class organisation and to deny the African workers the collective bargaining rights enjoyed by the workers of other races.

Both moves are typical products of apartheid. The Wiehahn Commission, set up by the regime to review the country's labour legislation under the chairmanship of Professor N.E. Wiehahn, adviser to the Minister of Labour, consists of 14 members. In the words of Minister of Labour S.P. Botha, its members have been appointed because they cover "the entire spectrum of our labour field." Although African workers comprise over 71% of the total active population, only one African has been appointed to the Commission – a lecturer at the School of Business Leadership of the University of South Africa. Four of the Commission's members are white representatives of big capital, four are representatives of white trade unions, one is the Coloured leader of a trade union that actively enforces a colour bar against African workers, one is a member of the Executive Committee of the apartheid-sponsored S.A. Indian Council, one is a white labour economist at Pretoria University and one is a white official of the Department of Labour.[1]

The Bantu Labour Relations Regulation Amendment Act for its part continues the futile task of denying the existence of African trade unions and attempting to channel African labour demands through a clumsy three-tiered system, designed to ensure limited direct representation by African workers and a large measure of indirect bureaucratic representation by white officials of the Department of Labour.

The history of the apartheid regime's legislative attempts in this regard is a record of its dismal failure to curb the growth of the natural organisations of the African proletariat – the trade unions. At the time the regime introduced its Bantu Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act in 1953 there were, according to the Industrial Legislation Commission, some 38,251 paid-up African members of trade unions.[2] (The unions claimed a much larger membership.) In rejecting the recommendations of the Industrial Legislation Commission that African trade unions should be given some form of official recognition, subject to strict controls, Minister of Labour Schoeman told parliament that "Whatever form of control is introduced, you will not be able to prevent them being used as a political weapon".[3] This has remained the viewpoint of the apartheid regime to this day. However, African trade unions were not prohibited by the Act, but neither were they given official recognition, and they were therefore unable to use the machinery for collective bargaining provided to workers of other races by the Industrial Conciliation Act.

In place of this collective bargaining machinery, African working class organisation and negotiation was to be limited to a factory-by-factory basis, through in-plant works committees. Essentially, the Act provided for works committees to be elected by African workers in establishments employing 20 or more Africans; for regional Bantu Labour Committees in the main industrial areas, consisting of Africans (but not necessarily workers) in the local community appointed by the Minister of Labour and under the chairmanship of a white Bantu Labour Officer; and, at the top, for a Central Labour Board consisting of white-only members appointed by the Minister of Labour. All strikes by Africans were outlawed by the Act, under extremely severe penalties. Labour Minister Schoeman said he hoped that as a result of this new legislation the African unions would "die a natural death".

The reception the scheme met with from the workers can be gauged by the fact that only 7 such works committees had been registered by the beginning of 1957, 10 by May 1960 and 24 by 1969.[4] When the mass strike wave shook Natal in January/February 1973 there were only 24 registered works committees and 118 (unregistered) 'liaison' committees in operation in the entire country.[5] At that time there were some 21,036 registered factories in the Republic, employing a total of 818,012 Africans. In other words *less than 1%* of all factories had any form of committee at all, and only slightly more than *one tenth of 1%* had committees registered in terms of the Act.

The Act did not bleed the African unions to death, as the Minister of Labour had prophesied. With the birth of the S.A. Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) in 1955 the movement received a new impetus and grew in strength. By 1961, despite harassment by the Security Police, SACTU had 46 affiliated unions, representing 54,323 members, of whom 38,791 were Africans.[6] At present, more than 20 African trade unions exist, with a membership, according to some sources, of 80,000. Despite the obvious failure of its efforts, the regime has not abandoned its strategy. It has continued to impose its system on African workers, subject to amendments from time to time; to harass African trade unions and to ban and detain union activists.

The Bantu Labour Relations Regulation Act, 1973

During the 1973 strike wave the regime took hasty steps to overhaul its system. The Bantu Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act of 1953 was amended and its title changed to the Bantu Labour Relations Regulation Act. It retained the spirit of the old Act and the three-tier system, but with some differences:

Works and Liaison Committees: In place of the former system of works committees the new Act introduced a dual system of 'works' and 'liaison' committees. Liaison committees consist of some members appointed by the employer and others (not less than half) elected by the workers, and the chairman of the committee may be appointed by the employer. They could be formed in establishments of any size and could consist of as many members as the employer and workers decided. The term of office of the commmittee members was not stipulated by the Act and would depend on the constitution of the committee.

In contrast to liaison committees, the works committee is a wholly elected body of workers' representatives. The Act stated that a works committee could be elected in any establishment or section of an establishment employing more than 20 Africans, where a liaison committee did not already exist. The meeting to elect the works committee was to be held under the chairmanship of the employer or his representative. The size of the committee was to be not less than 3 and not more than 20 members, but in any event, was not to exceed one-quarter of the total African work force employed in the establishment or section. The term of office of the committee was stipulated by the Act as not more than two years. Where works committees were established in respect of two or more sections of an establishment, a co-ordinating works committee could be formed consisting of the chairmen and secretaries of the respective works committees.

The two types of committees set out by the Act differ in content as well as functions. The liaison committee in practice clearly turns out to be an employer-dominated body; for this reason workers have rejected it in favour of works committees, while employers have just as vigorously sought to impose it in preference to works committees. Works committee deliberations take place in private, with no employer's representatives present; also, the African unions have whenever possible sought to use the works committees as a means of providing their activists with some measure of protection from victimisation under the Act, and as a means for securing negotiating positions in factories.

Because of this, immediately after the promulgation of the 1973 Act, employers' federations attempted to block the formation of works committees by urging their members to establish liaison committees without delay. Steel & Engineering Industries Federation of S.A. (SEIFSA) accompanied its call to employers with a model constitution for such a liaison committee. SEIFSA's constitution is informative as it reveals the attitude of employers in their relations with representatives of African workers. Under the heading "limitation of functions" the model constitution reads: "The Committee may only recommend a course of action through the chairman of the committee" (in almost all cases an employer-nominated individual), and "The committee shall not, by resolution or otherwise, reverse or amend any instruction given by management, nor can it interfere with any disciplinary action undertaken by management".[7]

Liaison committees were by the definition in the Act to be consultative rather than negotiating bodies. The functions of liaison committees as defined were: "to consider matters which are of mutual interest to the employer and his employees and to make.... such recommendations concerning conditions of employment.....or any other matter affecting their interests as the committee may at any time deem expedient, in accordance with the rules adopted by it".

The functions of works committees as defined were: "to communicate the wishes, aspirations and requirements of the employees......to their employer and to represent the said employees in any negotiations with their employer concerning their conditions of employment or any other matter affecting their interests".

Due to the urging of employers' associations and the authorities, by August 1977 the Secretary for Labour, Cilliers, was able to report that there were 2503 liaison committees and 301 works committees in existence.[8] If the surveys of Mr. Ryno Verster, of the Personnel Research Division of the Department of Industrial Psychology of the University of the OFS are anything to go by, almost all these liaison committees were formed on the initiative of management. In 1974 he investigated 326 organisations, employing 164,995 Africans, at which there were 437 liaison committees in operation. Approximately 91% of these committees were formed on the initiative of the management. In about 9% the initiative was a joint one and in only 2 of the 326 organisations had the initiative come from workers.[9]

The struggle between workers and employers over the choice of system has been extremely sharp, in many cases resulting in dismissals of workers and in strikes. In one case, when workers elected a works committee against management opposition, the members of the committee were subsequently questioned by the police as to "where they had got the idea to form a Works Committee".[10]

Regional Bantu Labour Committees: The 1953 Act was amended to allow African members of Regional Bantu Labour Committees to accompany the chairman of the Regional Committee to meetings of Industrial Councils. However, while the members of the Regional Bantu Labour Committee may participate in the deliberations of the Industrial Council concerned, they have no voting rights.

Wage Orders: Part and parcel of the policy of denying Africans the right to participate in the fixing of their wages and working conditions is the idea that others should do this for them. The Bantu Labour Relations Regulation Act of 1973 introduced a new method of unilateral wage fixing, whereby any group of employers in any industry not covered by an Industrial Council Agreement could at any time submit proposals to the Minister of Labour concerning the wages or other conditions of employment of the workers employed by them, and request that these proposals be made binding on all employers and workers in the industry concerned. If the Minister regards the group of employers as sufficiently representative, he is empowered to make an order in accodance with their proposals.

According to the regime, the purpose of this measure was "to speed up wage regulations".[11] In fact, it serves to undermine not only African workers but all workers in the industry who are deprived of any say in the establishment of their wages and working conditions. It was no accident that the very first order under this clause was made at the request of the Frame group of employers in the Light Cotton Textile Manufacturing Industry, at a time when the Textile Workers' Industrial Union was about to request the Minister of Labour to appoint a Conciliation Board to settle a dispute over negotiating rights, wages and working conditions in the industry. The first order was gazetted in December 1973 and has been followed by subsequent orders on expiry ever since.

By the end of 1975 there had been 13 orders made in terms of this clause: in the Civil Engineering Industry, the Roadmaking Industry, Stevedoring Trade, Light Cotton Textile Manufacturing Industry, and the Metal Containers and Allied Products Industry. Altogether they affected over 100,000 Africans. Once an order has been made, moreover, strike action by African workers in that industry becomes illegal.

"Legalisation" of Strikes: The Bantu Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act of 1953 placed a total prohibition on strikes, go-slows, refusals to work and similar action by African workers. The 1973 Act proclaimed the right to strike, but in such severely restricted circumstances as to be almost non-existent.

"Essential" services: *The Act placed a total prohibition on strike action by Africans employed by a local authority; or on essential services providing lights, power, water, sanitation, passenger-transportation or a fire extinguishing service within the area of a local authority; or on those employed in the supply, distribution and canning of perishable foodstuffs, or the supply and distribution of petrol and other fuels to local authorities or workers engaged in providing essential services, if the Minister of Labour has extended the prohibition of strikes to such an industry.

"Non-essential" services: *In the case of non-essential services a strike may not take place:

(a) during the currency of any agreement, award or determination made in terms of the Industrial Conciliation Act which covers the workers concerned and which deals with the matter in dispute; or

(b) during the first year of operation of any other wage regulating measure (e.g. an order in terms of the Bantu Labour Relations Regulation Act, a wage determination under the Wage Act and a determination under the Bantu Building Workers Act) which covers the workers concerned and which deals with the matter in dispute; or

(c) if the matter in dispute has been referred by the Central Bantu Labour Board to the Wage Board for a recommendation.

* If neither (a), (b) nor (c) applied, the dispute must first be referred to the liaison or works committee for the establishment concerned. If the committee is unable to settle the dispute, or where no committee exists, a report must be made to the Bantu Labour Officer. If the Bantu Labour Officer, the Regional Bantu Labour Committee or the Central Bantu Labour Board are all unable to resolve the dispute within a 30 day period, then, provided the Central Bantu Labour Board has not referred the matter to the Wage Board for a recommendation, a strike by African workers may legally take place.

In fact, in the 4 years that this "right to strike" has been in operation, only one strike by African workers has been able to take place legally under this clause (at Armour Plate Glass in 1976).[12] In 1974 and 1975 alone there were 308 (illegal) strikes and 333 other stoppages of work, involving a total of 802,202 Africans according to government statistics.[13] The right to strike is as absent as in the old Bantu Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act, as the following case of 30 African labourers at the Witbank Coal Agency shows. They were each fined R100 or 3 months imprisonment and sentenced to a further 6 months imprisonment suspended for 3 years, after being charged with striking. The court found that they had stayed away from work on a public holiday although they were required to work.[14]

The Bantu Labour Relations Regulations Amendment Act, 1977

Towards the end of 1975 the regime published a Draft Bill, incorporating its proposals for amending this legislation once again.[15] Although retaining unmodified the anti-union spirit of earlier legislation, the Draft Bill did contain certain proposals that might, if correctly implemented, have given African workers some form of participation in the fixing of their wages and working conditions on an industrial, rather than plant, basis.

It presaged the removal of the presumption favouring liaison committees over works committees and provided that a works committee could be elected irrespective of whether or not a liaison committee existed in an establishment, and whether or not the establishment employed less than 20 Africans. But the most important proposal was the introduction of industry committees. In terms of the Draft Bill, a group of liaison, works or co-ordinating works committees in any trade or area would be entitled to apply to the Minister of Labour for the establishment of an industry committee, made up of representatives of a certain number of the committees. Where an Industrial Council was registered for the industry, members of an industry committee would be permitted to participate in the negotiations, but would still enjoy no voting rights. Where no Industrial Council was registered, the industry committee would be empowered together with the Regional Labour Committee in the area to enter into an agreement with a group of employers in the industry. This agreement, if sanctioned by the Minister, would be published as a binding instrument. The clause in the 1973 Act allowing a group of employers to unilaterally fix wages and working conditions for Africans in industries where no Industrial Council existed would therefore be repealed.

It is an indication of the ravenous appetites of capital within the apartheid system that even proposals as limited and cautious as these evoked a storm of protest from employers' associations. The Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut and the Co-ordinating Council of S.A. Trade Unions, a right-wing white trade union body, feared that the Bill would pave the way for African trade union rights. 16

As a result of these protests the Act was substantially modified when it was passed last year. None of the above points in the Draft Bill were incorporated in the final Act. The concept of in-plan "negotiation" and "wage fixing" was, as before, firmly entrenched.

The Act deleted the definition of "European" from the previous legislation and so made it possible for Africans to be appointed by the Minister as Bantu Labour Officers or assistant Bantu Labour Officers, and as members of the Central Bantu Labour Board (and so, therefore, for them to be theoretically eligible for election to the position of Chairman of the Board, or as Chairman of a Regional Bantu Labour Committee).

The Act made provision for the establishment of liaison committees in sections of a factory, and for co-ordinating liaison committees. In place of the proposed industry committee, the Act laid down that where an employer had more than one establishment in the same trade, a single liaison committee may, with the approval of the Secretary for Labour, be formed in respect of all his establishments in that trade. The functions of the liaison committee were redefined by the Act as follows: "......to negotiate and enter into agreements with the employer in relation to the wages or other conditions of employment of the employees concerned". and "to consider other matters which are of mutual interest to the employer and such employees, in accordance with rules adopted by it". Negotiating rights for works committees were taken away in cases where a liaison committee existed in the establishment. Works committees were "to communicate the wishes aspirations and requirements of employees......to their employer", but only where no liaison committee existed in the establishment or section concerned could the works committee "negotiate and enter into agreements with their employer in relation to their wages or other conditions of employment". Where a liaison committee existed, works committees were "to make recommendations regarding such wages or other conditions of employment to such liaison committee".

A sinister aspect of the Amendment Act is that it extends a so-called "secrecy clause" to members of works or liaison committees. This clause makes it illegal for a member of a works or liaison committee to pass on to outsiders "any information in relation to any person, firm or business acquired in the exercise of his powers or in the performance of his duties under this Act". The measure is obviously aimed at threatening the working links which many works committee members have with the African trade unions and worker advice centres. Apart from making it illegal for them to divulge details of their negotiations to these bodies, the secrecy clause also operates to prevent the committees seeking the assistance of economists in wage negotiations. "If (workers) were told in the course of the negotiations that their employer could not afford to pay increases, they would not be able to ask an outside expert to analyse the claim", commented S.A.'s big business journal the *Financial Mail.* [17]

The above account demonstrates just now little has changed in the "Bantu" Labour regulations machinery of the apartheid regime since the enactment of the Bantu Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act in 1953. The purpose of this machinery now is the same as it was then: to keep African labour cheap and shackled. Only the growing African trade union movement, as an essential part of the liberation struggle. will be able to relegate this machinery where it belongs – to the garbage heap of history along with its makers.

Sources:

1. *Cape Times* 4/7/1977.
2. *South Africa: Workers Under Apartheid* (A. Hepple), International Defence and Aid Fund. (London) 1971, p.72.
3. Hansard 4, col. 869, 1953.
4. "African Labour Representation and the Draft Bill to Amend the Bantu Labour Relations Regulations Act" (D. Horner), *S.A. Labour Bulletin*, Vol 2, Nos 9 & 10, p.15.

5. Hansard 3, col. 160-161, 1974; International Defence and Aid Information Service, Jan-June 1973, col.96.
6. *South Africa: Workers Under Apartheid* (A. Hepple), op.cit. p.71.
7. *Sunday Times* (Jhb) 23/12/73.
8. *Daily Despatch* 30/8/1977. Cited in ANC News Briefing No 38, 1977.
9. Cited in D. Horner "African Labour Representation and the Draft Bill to Amend the Bantu Labour Relations Regulations Act" op.cit. pp.26 & 27.
10. "Nautilus Marine: A Case Study of Worker-Management Conflict", *S.A. Labour Bulletin,* Vol 2, Nos 9 & 10, p.63.
11. Report of the Department of Labour for the year ended 31/12/1973, p.13.
12. *Financial Mail* (Jhb) 22/4/1977.
13. See Dept. of Labour Reports for year ended 31/12/1974 (p.12), and year ended 31/12/1975 (p.12).
14. *Rand Daily Mail*, 14/5/1977.
15. I am indebted to the study of the Draft Bill made by D. Horner (op.cit.), for the details given here.
16. *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa 1976* (SA Institute of Race Relations) p.319.
17. *Financial Mail*, 6/5/1977.

PEOPLE'S POWER in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau

New bi-monthly series of reports, major speeches and policy statements, news, etc.:

Sample copy – 50 pence – annual sub: £2.50. Airmail: £4

Available from:

Mozambique, Angola and Guine Information Centre
12 Little Newport Street
London WC2AH 7JJ
England

Workers' health undermined by Apartheid

by Dr. R. Press

Capitalist society is based on the profit motive. In exploiting the working people the boss constantly tries to increase his rate of profit by paying as low wages as possible and spending as little as possible on machinery and equipment. The only limit in his mind is the necessity to ensure that there are enough workers to exploit.

For their continued exploitation the workers must be healthy and in constant supply. If the discovery of new materials and processes can increase the rate of exploitation and also allow the employment of fewer workers, the boss will use this new technology. Individual bosses are often so greedy that they have to be kept under some sort of control by other bosses and the capitalist state. If this were not done they might poison and kill not only their own workers but also the workers of other factories and even the capitalists themselves.

In South Africa apartheid adds a new dimension to the capitalist equation. As at June 1975, the total number of economically active persons was 9,771,000 of whom 1,757,000 (17.9%) were white, 807,000 (8.3%) Coloured, 221,000 (2.3%) Asian and 6,986,000 (71.5%) African. The health and safety of the workers varies widely from group to group, the whites getting the best deal and the Africans the worst.

The history of the mining industry, one of the biggest employers of labour, is instructive. Here the notification of occupational disease dates from 1886. Between October 1899 and January 1901, out of a total of 1377 white stopers 255 died of miner's phthisis. A commission of inquiry was appointed in 1902. It was found that advanced phthisis developed in the average miner within six months. In 1905 regulations were passed to inhibit the creation of dust *as far as possible.* In 1910 the death rate amongst white miners was six times higher than amongst adult males who were not miners. In 1911 another commission found that of 3,163 miners 31.5% had or showed signs of phthisis.

A number of significant points arise. The mine owners did not instigate the commission's enquiries but the state did, under pressure from the white miners and public opinion. The state's actions were weak and indecisive and allowed the appalling conditions to continue for over a decade before legislation was passed in 1911. The health of the African miners was even worse than that of the white miners but they were not even considered.

The white mine workers fought fierce battles with the mine owners in 1907, 1913 and 1922. Eventually their trade union was recognised and later in the 1940's and 50's they became an honoured part of the Afrikaner nationalist state. One would have thought that the safety of the white miner at least would have been assured. However, the government commission of inquiry into Industrial Health,1975[1] stated:

> "At present some 676,000 persons are employed on controlled and uncontrolled mines and works, and during the past seven years an average of 396 white and coloured, and 1,348 blacks out of a total of 494,995 have been certified as new cases of compensable occupational diseases of all categories except tuberculosis. During the same period an average of 247 whites and coloured and 480 blacks died annually of occupational diseases other than tuberculosis. During the same period an average of 48 whites and coloureds and 3,846 blacks were certified each year to be suffering from tuberculosis. The number of deaths from tuberculosis over the past seven years averages two whites and coloured and 101 blacks. This figure is not high (??), especially considering that an average of 500 miners a year died in accidents

> in gold mines during the past ten years and that 22,222 miners were injured on the gold mines during 1974."[2]

The commission goes on to recommend:-

> "Half a million of these workers are engaged in underground mining activities but they are in good and experienced hands."[3]

Even if one could believe the low figures quoted, the white workers must surely realise that under capitalism, even as part of the privileged section of the apartheid state, their safety and health are not assured.

The African miner and African workers generally are worse off than the white workers. How much so it is difficult to determine, but the job reservation laws give them the dirtiest and most dangerous jobs, the law discriminates against them in health matters.[4] Workman's compensation for the African is far lower than for whites and thus the employers are not so concerned with the protection of African workers. "Industrial health statistics are meagre", but some data are indicative.[5]

The incidence of silicosis in non-mining industries varies from 123 per 1,000 in the monumental masonry and 94 per 1,000 in the foundries to 10 per 1,000 in ornamental ceramics.

Three factories employing 1,635 workers had 160 cases of asbestosis. In another survey 465 cases of mesothelioma (cancer) were found. In 1975, 257 whites and coloureds and 1050 Africans died from or were certified as having pneumoconiosis.

Of 3,745 workers in 60 factories 35.5% were found to have lead poisoning. In South Africa the levels of lead taken to show poisoning are much higher than in for example Sweden or the U.S.A. So that the figure of 35.5% can be regarded as too low.

In two factories over 50% of the workers were poisoned by manganese.

In three platignum refineries 40% of the white and 17% of the Africans suffered from platinosis.

In a chromate works 75% of the workers had active lesions in their nasal passages.

28% of workers using mercury in a lamp factory were suffering from mercury poisoning.

If this is what is known, how much is unknown and why is it unknown?

There are 30,000 factories with about 1.25 million workers. To monitor health and hazard there were 32 industrial medical officers, hardly any industrial hygienists, and 29 factory inspectors (1974). Each factory inspector would have to visit four factories per working day to visit each factory at least once in a year.[6]

The state, the employers and the registered trade unions have, by and large, totally neglected industrial health. Without a powerful, militant trade union movement the workers cannot fight for their right to industrial health. Without the African trade unions, without the African majority the trade union movement is powerless.

An Extra Burden

The African workers have however the extra burden of apartheid. Statistics concerning African workers are lacking; for example even life expectancy figures are not available.[7] Data are most easily collected and collated by Government agencies which pay scant attention to African workers and their problems and suppress rather than publish material which is unfavourable to the apartheid image. The data collectors are, by and large, supporters of apartheid and even when honest and persons of integrity they have little support in their actions from their fellow whites. Only slowly are they realising that industrial health knows no colour bar (e.g. platinosis above).

There are only four African doctors per million Africans as compared with 2,010 white doctors per million of the whites. The gulf between black and white is so large in South Africa that with the best will in the world the medical profession cannot, with this composition, understand or cope with the health problems of the African workers. Remember too that African hospitals are overcrowded and under-financed, and their staffs overworked. (Overall per capita South Africa has about a third as many doctors as the U.K. or U.S.)

An even worse picture is revealed when we consider African scientists as compared to white scientists. Few, if any Africans are allowed to rise to a position of minor influence. One must also bear in mind that those amongst the white or black intelligentsia who have attempted to assist the African workers have suffered, together with them, jailings, bannings, exile and murder.

Much information normally is obtainable from company records, insurance claims, health records, absentee reports and so on. In all these areas Africans appear seldom if at all. For example whereas a white worker's absence is noted and taken seriously in as much as he is well paid, will claim and is usually insured, Africans are regarded as cheap labour easily replaced and easily fobbed off even if insured, as they seldom are. The white worker is also a more stable and longer serving[8] employee who is in a far better position to object to injustice. Thus data are kept more meticulously.[9]

Even where the facts are recorded, are they easily available? The African worker has little possibility of exercising any right to information. He suffers from a chronic lack of education, not only compared to the white worker but especially when compared to the employers. The language of modern science, technology and medicine is difficult even for those skilled in them let alone for those denied even elementary education. The African worker has not the finance (low wages), time (he is forced to live far from the factory areas with poor transport), library access (he is denied access to major science and public libraries) or facilities (photo-copying, duplication, filing etc.) He is constantly persuaded and cajoled that there is no need to worry or find out since everything is under control. If he does not accept this he may be dismissed, followed by the many other pressures such as endorsement out of the area etc.[10]

However, even if such data became available how reliable or useful would they prove to be. Comparisons of longevity or health of workers in particular industries with the parallel figure of those of the general population or other groups of workers are made to reach some sort of valid statistical conclusions. The general health and longevity of the African population are so bad, owing to bad housing, food, sanitation, medical facilities and so on, that much industrial disease is hidden as a lesser factor. Some industrial cancers for example take 25 years to develop but if the general longevity is only 40 years then these cancers can seldom be found amongst African workers.[11] In other cases the mine workers may contract silicosis or other ailments only to be sent "home" to a Bantustan by a white company doctor. In the Bantustan he loses all powers to claim compensation and medical facilities are so poor that his family cannot prove let alone have his disease or cause of death recorded. Also many African workers cannot afford to report sick since most receive no sick pay and few can risk dismissal. Thus statistics for African workers can be highly misleading.

Factories in the border areas and Bantustans will have even worse safety and health records which will be more difficult to assess or control.

Early Death

If valid comparisons are to be made then they should be between black and white workers where even a cursory glance at the available information proves a vastly heavier burden of ill health and early death amongst African workers.

The conclusions and recommendations of the S.A. Commission into Industrial Health provide little help to the workers. For example, the commission states:

> "It is impossible as regards in the case of dust to lay down absolute standards." (20.967)
> "Such a notice may cost an industrialist thousands of rands...." (21.1008)
> "If.......a notice to stop production is appealed against, production will continue until......" (21.1010)
> "To protect, as far as reasonably practicable, the health of their workers......." (24.1161)
> "Only if this policy fails and industrialists turn a deaf ear, should recourse be had to warnings, sanctions and prosecutions...." (20.948)

All the factory inspectors, appeals committees, even workers on advisory boards etc. are appointees either by the government or the employers. White trade unions will be consulted but even the white mine workers' union is not considered suitable to have the right to inspect mines with regard to safety.[12]

Safety depends on the strength of the workers organised into trade unions. In South Africa this means the African trade unions. Every factory and workshop should have safety officers elected by the workers. These officers should have direct access to the trade union and the factory manager. In large factories there should be elected safety committees with similar access.

All records and information on safety and health, dust and pollution levels, and any other factors which affect safety or health should be open to inspection.

The advice of any experts and doctors should be available to the workers at their request and such experts should likewise have access to any areas, machinery or persons for tests or investigation. One of their special jobs would be to educate the workers on the hazards and dangers of the various processes and assist the trade unions in mobilising the workers on the subject.

These elected safety officers together with the trade union should have the power to enforce all necessary regulations, ensure the employment of all necessary personnel, or shut down any factory or process (with full protection of the workers' pay and benefits) which they consider dangerous to health or safety.

There should be a central organisation such as the Department of Health, likewise subject to workers' control, which would have overall direction of safety and health. This would establish standards and conditions which must be conformed to and have sections dealing with research, inspectorates and preventive medicine. This sort of system operates in the socialist countries such as the USSR and GDR, and even some capitalist states such as the U.K. are being forced along the road to such a system.

Safety and health are a vast subject with many ramifications and are the concern of the population at large, but are of immediate concern to the workers. As long as bosses own factories, the workers will have to force them to spend money and pay attention to safety and health. The difficulties are immense but the power of the African workers with their allies is overwhelming.

There are sections of the white workers and scientists who are deeply concerned with the appalling state of safety and health in South Africa. But they cannot improve matters to any significant extent without the power of the African workers.

The wider sections of the South African population are learning that industrial poisons know no boundaries or factory walls, nor does a white skin act as a barrier to disease.

The problem of industrial health is international. The cancer of mesothelioma was first discovered in South Africa, but is now found world wide amongst asbestos workers. The industrial poisons that are produced in South Africa are produced in other parts of the world. The factory in South Africa is often but a subsidiary of a factory in Britain, the U.S. or some other imperialist country. Information must be exchanged and international standards must be set to which employers must be forced to adhere.

The health of the workers and their families is of major importance, for they produce the wealth of the world. Only when we have a workers' state in South Africa will we be able to remove the major stumbling block in the way of health and safety at work: the bosses' greed.

NOTES

1. S.A. Commission of Inquiry into Industrial Health 14th February 1975. Chairman R.P.B. Erasmus. Paragraphs 3.66 - 3.74.

2. Ibid. para 3.76.

3. Ibid. para 26.1242

4. For example occupational diseases Mines and Works Act no. 78 of 1973 amended act 27 of 1974.

5. (1) above, paras 4.128 and 5.138-8.296

6. Ibid. para 11.507

7. House of Assembly debates SA., 1973.

8. High labour turnover amongst Africans may sometimes work to the benefit of African workers. For example, coal miner's pneumoconiosis (1959-1970) was 8.9% amongst Africans and 14.4% amongst whites. "Coal workers pneumoconiosis in S.A." Annals of New York Academy of Sciences (1972) *200,* 306-15.

9. "The greater number of whites may be in part because members of this racial group seek medical attention more readily than do others." Asbestos exposure in SA, I. Webster, Pneumoconiosis Research Unit, C.S.I.R., S.A. Institute for Medical Research. It is also well known that doctors *find* diseases more easily amongst whites than Africans.

10. The Commission's report ibid (1) refers to African workers and those who help them as "political agitators" (3.58). "The only dissatisfaction amongst black workers is due to outside influences." (3.92). There is an "absence of black trade unions in the Republic." (3.93).

11. See for example "The new multinational health hazards". I.C.F. occupational health conference 28-30 October 1974.

12. (1) ibid. 11.507.

AFRICA: NOTES & COMMENT

by Vukani Mawethu

TANZANIA: SOLIDARITY IN PRACTICE

A press release from Dar es Salaam reported on September 10, 1977 that the ruling party in Tanzania, Chama Cha Mapinduzi (the Revolutionary Party of Tanzania) and the Montonero Peronist Movement of Argentina denounced "the growing bonds between the racist regimes of South Africa and the fascist dictatorships of the Southern cone of Latin America."

Following the talks between the two revolutionary movements a joint communique was issued five days later. The joint communique was signed by Herman M. Mhuizi, Secretary for International Affairs on behalf of Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) and Miguel Bonasso, Press Secretary to the Council of the Montonero Peronist Movement (MPM) and Adolfo Gonzalez, delegate for Africa and the Middle East (MPM). The press release states that the MPM "presented some important facts concerning the links between the two continents." These "important facts" can be summarised as follows:

- the creation of a South Atlantic military alliance, a second NATO, which would have Argentina, Brazil and South Africa as its principal members;
- frequent visits by racist South African commercial delegations to Buenos Aires;
- Argentine newspapers advertise return flights to Johannesburg and Cape Town for less than 500 dollars and the South African Airways claims that "everybody feels at home" there;
- Admiral Emilio Eduardo Massera, together with Lieutenant-General Jorge Rafael Videla – the spokesmen of the Argentine military junta – invited the commander of the racist South African Navy, Admiral James Johnson, to participate in the Unitas manoeuvres of the United States, Brazil, Uruguay and Argentine navies in September 1976;
- the Chilean butcher Pinochet and other military dictators like General Stroessner (Paraguay), Jose Maria Bordaberry and his successor Aparicio Mendez (Uruguay) and General Hugo Banzer (Bolivia) are strengthening their military, economic and political relations with racist South Africa;
- The Bolivian military dictatorship has expressed its readiness to receive up to 150,000 Rhodesian colonists "who are ready to flee their country, before the inexorable advance of the Zimbabwe Patriotic forces." This is not a new phenomenon in Latin America because Argentina received large numbers of Algerian "pieds noir", including members of the sinister Secret Army Organisation OAS: "The French exiles paid for their hospitality by sharing their own repressive techniques with their Nazi hosts," the press statement says.

The Montoneros held numerous meetings with their Tanzanian hosts, the government and various mass organisastions such as the National Union of Tanganyika Workers (NUTA), the Youth League and the Union of Women of Tanzania. They were also received by the Deputy Chief National Executive Secretary of the CCM, Salmin Amour, attended a rally to celebrate the 11th anniversary of the beginning of armed struggle in Namibia by the SWAPO forces and held a seminar at the University of Dar es Salaam on the present situation in their country. The three-day visit to Zanzibar included a "big meeting with the principal youth leaders of the island, chaired by Ali M. Moinygogo, member of the CCM Central Committee and Minister of Culture, Sport and Youth."

The Montenero Peronist Movement praised "the endeavours of the people, the party and the government of Tanzania to consolidate their revolutionary process, and the solidarity which they extend towards the African liberation movements such as those of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa" and in their turn the CCM saluted "the popular resistance which is being carried out in Argentina, led by the Montonero Peronist Movement whose programme of national and social liberation aims toward establishing peace and justice in this South American country."

Both parties condemned colonialism, neo-colonialism, imperialism and racism, "the barbaric methods of repression used by Videla's regime in Argentina, Vorster's in South Africa and Ian Smith's in Rhodesia, as well as the increasing number of ties binding together the fascists of Africa and Latin America."

The CCM expressed its solidarity with the MPM and supported its demands for the re-establishment of constitutional guarantees in Argentina, the ceasing of the torture and murder of popular militants, the calling of free elections," and the release of Ex-President Hector Campora who is still in the Mexican embassy in Buenos Aires where he sought asylum and who, it is feared, could be the victim of a para-military attack."

Finally both parties agreed on the importance of furthering mutual understanding and the establishment of a permanent delegation of the MPM in Dar es Salaam, and further agreed to arrange a visit to Tanzania of the General Secretary of the Argentine Liberal Movement, Commander Mario Eduardo Firmenich. This was a concretisation of the conviction that, "faced with these united forces of colonialism and neo-colonialism, it is essential for the movements of liberation and the peoples who fight for their own self-determination and for the building of socialism to strengthen and tighten their own relations with each other."

After this twenty-day visit to Tanzania the Argentine comrades left for Maputo.

SEYCHELLES: END OF A CORRUPT REGIME

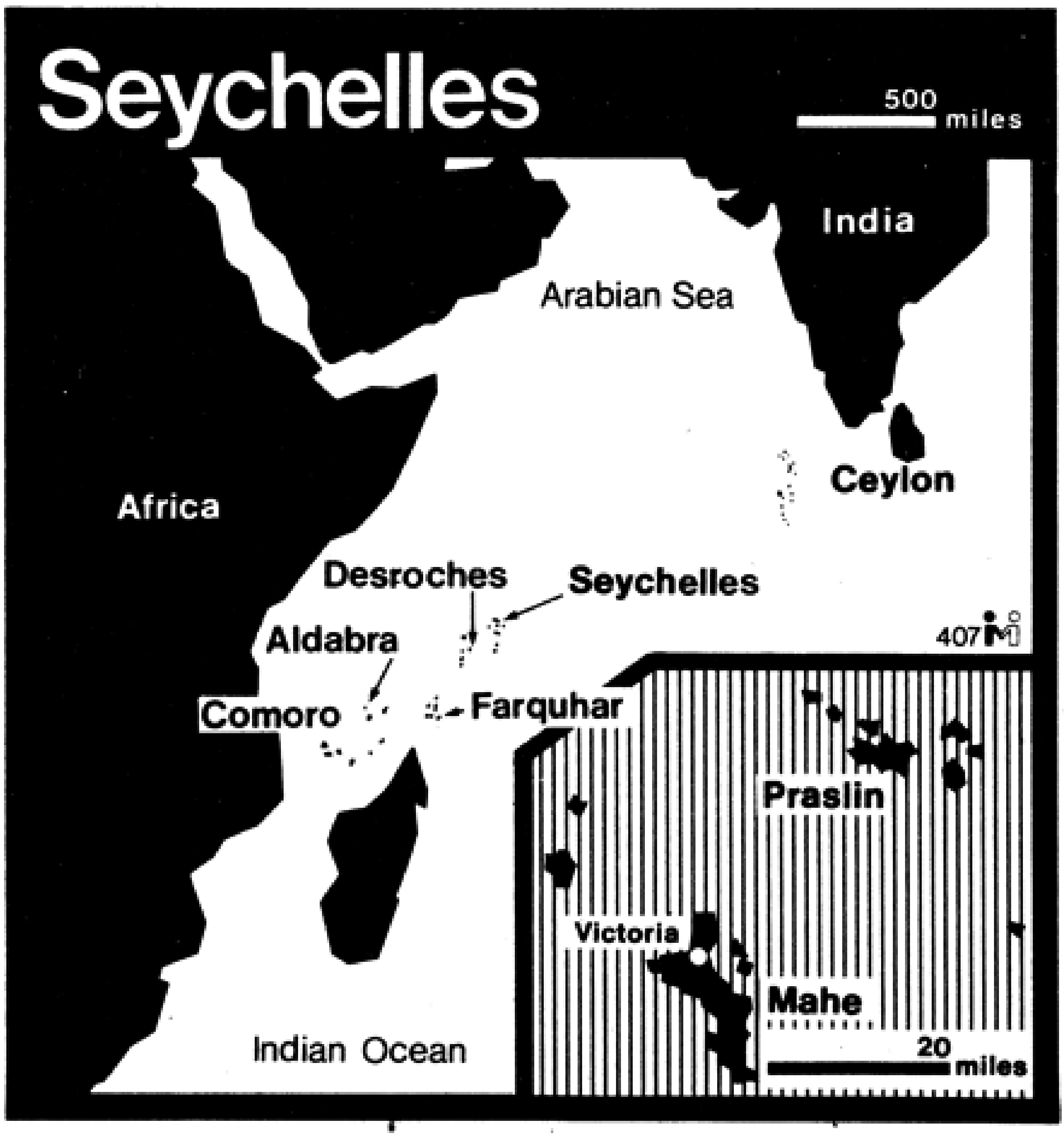
When the news was announced on June 5, 1977 that a "Marxist coup" had taken place in the Seychelles, James R. Mancham, the President, was in London's Savoy Hotel attending a Commonwealth Conference. His ministers were also out of the country and so was the British Commissioner of Police. Francis Albert René, the Prime Minister, had taken over. To many people this was confusing.

The Seychelles Islands – made up of 92 islands and keys and spreading over a distance of 500 kilometres with a total of 424 sq. kilometres – became independent on June 29, 1976 and the British made sure that the two existing parties, the Seychelles Democratic Party (SDP) headed by Mancham and the Seychelles People's United Party (SPUP) headed by René formed a coalition government intended to last until 1979 – the year of free elections. It was a "marriage of convenience." It is alleged Mancham planned to postpone the elections till 1984.

The two parties, which were formed in 1964, had nothing in common. The SDP was a party of businessmen and conservative islanders with strong neo-colonial leanings whereas the SPUP is worker-oriented representing the interests of the peasants, teachers and young intellectuals. The coalition government of 12 ministers had only 4 members of the SDUP and Mancham, the President, had executive powers while René, the Prime Minister, had no powers at all.

The history of these islands is no different from that of the rest of the continent. We are told these islands were "discovered" by Portuguese sailors in 1502 and were "forgotten" until 1742 when French ships began using them as a supply base which was leased to Britain in 1796. Then began the period of colonial rivalry between Britain and France to the total disregard of the interests of the indigenous people. In 1810 Britain became the colonial master and this was "legalised" by the Treaty of Paris signed by France after the defeat of Napoleon. The situation did not change until June 29, 1971 when the Seychelles became independent.

But this "independence" was no independence at all, because Mancham's group became involved in business deals with undertakings which undermined the independence of the country. The country was sold to multinational tourist companies and the "booming tourist industry" attracted many visitors. New hotels were built and foreigners


Seychelles
500 miles
India
Arabian Sea
Ceylon
Africa
Desroches
Seychelles
Aldabra
Comoro
Farquhar
Praslin
Victoria
Mahe
20 miles
Indian Ocean
407

crowded round the curio stalls buying tortoise shells and coconut fibre hats – and they grabbed land.

The people continued to suffer – between 1969 and 1975 the cost of living increased by 133.2 per cent and the price of food by 35.7 per cent between 1974 and 1975. Housing was miserable – most people had only a one-roomed house made of clay, wood and palm leaves with no other facilities. Unemployment was very high – out of a population of 60,000 only 12,000 people were employed: in agriculture and fishing (6,000), in public works (2,000), in domestic services (2,500) and arts and crafts (1,500). The annual per capita income was 400 dollars but the majority of the people got less than half that sum. The dispossessed masses had no medical care and possibilities to send their children to school were practically non-existent. Food was scarce and it was mostly rice, lentils and fish.

The only industries in Seychelles are a beer factory, a cigarette factory, a factory for plastic goods and several for consumer goods. The economy is based mainly on the export of copra, cinnamon and a few thousand tons of frozen fish which are exported to Britain, Kenya and racist South Africa – countries which pressurise the producers to cut their prices and interfere in the internal affairs of the Seychelles. This has led to an unfavourable balance of trade: the ratio of imports to exports in 1976 was nine to one in favour of the former; exports amounted to a mere two million dollars.

The government of Mancham did nothing to improve the conditions of the people. On the contrary the 37-year-old president was hardly ever at home, travelling round the world at great expense. When he was at home he organised numerous parties or drove to beaches in his open Rolls Royce, sirens screaming, with police outriders and accompanied by beautiful girls. No wonder the ordinary Seychellois called him "Playboy President". His government was corrupt.

Seychelles is a poor country. So why did the imperialists scream so loud and even become hysterical when this "Marxist coup" took place? The answer is simple. It is because of the strategic significance of these islands in the global strategy of imperialism and in the militarisation of the Indian Ocean. Seychelles is situated roughly on the same latitude as Kenya, north of Madagascar which is not far from racist South Africa – the bastion of imperialism in Africa. Those islands are also stop-overs for oil tankers from the Arabian Gulf and ships that pass via the Cape. They also constitute an ideal observation post because of fine weather, and the United States has installed radar "to track satellites". It is said that this station is run by 200 technicians and 5 military men "who have never been seen in uniform".

The imperialists had grand plans in Seychelles, but they underestimated the potential of the people of those islands who are now for the first time free to make their full contribution to the African liberation struggle.

In June 1977 shortly after coming to power as President, René announced that it was his government's policy to reduce links with South Africa. And in October it was reported that 70 diesel engines bound for South Africa had been confiscated in the Seychelles after René declared he would not allow his territory to be used as a transshipment point to break UN trade sanctions against Rhodesia or to break bans like that imposed by India on exports to South Africa.

The new government in the Seychelles is suiting its deeds to its words.

ZAIRE: MOBUTU COMMITS ANOTHER CRIME

Africa and the world were shocked to hear of the secret agreement between the Zairan government and the West German monopoly Orbital Transport und Raketen Ag. (OTRAG) which specialises in the production of booster rockets and is closely connected with the West German military-industrial complex. The western press was silent. The Parisian magazine *Afrique-Asie* has published the text of this secret agreement which was signed in Kinshasa by Bokana Wondangela, Councillor to the President of the Zairan government and Luts Kayser, member of the board of directors of OTRAG, on March 26, 1976 and is valid until the end of the year 2000 "and beginning from that date full rights shall be extended by successive periods of ten years."

According to the agreement a huge centre for testing long-range missiles is being built in the dense tropical forests of Zaire, and OTRAG will rent this area in the Kiva province for 800 million marks. This area of 250,000 square kilometres is equal in size to the Federal Republic of Germany. It is "a true German enclave in Africa". This treaty which deprives the Zairan government of control of part of its national territory has sinister implications: the local population must be evacuated from this area; Zairan planes cannot fly over the area and the taking of photographs is strictly prohibited; no video, sound or written recordings may be made on the territory, nothing must "disrupt the tranquillity" of OTRAG.

Only OTRAG is free to do what it wishes, including building airfields and launching pads, highways and railways, radar and communication centres, power supply installations, observation and control stations and of course "urbanisation" of the territory so that the personnel can be comfortable. The agreement states categorically that OTRAG personnel "shall enjoy the same privileges and immunities as members of diplomatic missions." In other words, they will have more rights and freedoms than Zairans. This undemocratic treaty goes on to state that OTRAG "shall not bear any responsibility for environmental damage caused by the construction and launching of rockets into the atmosphere and space."

What is the main purpose of OTRAG in all this? Why test West German missiles in Africa which is fighting for peace? Why do they have to sign "secret agreements" which are reminiscent of our colonial past?

When one considers that this area is close to the Tanzanian and Zambian borders and is only 250 kilometres away from the border of Angola – all front-line states – one becomes even more suspicious about what is *not* contained in the secret agreement. Mobutu's role in Africa is well known and his relations with Vorster are not secret. We also know that international imperialism wants to "encircle" the progressive states and the national liberation movements in this area. During this age of mercenaries one can imagine that "centres" like these are suitable for "subversive activity" such as the recruitment and training of mercenaries who will be used against progressive Africa.

Our movement has published many documents exposing West Germany's involvement in the South African military build up and in strengthening the racist South African armed forces. But perhaps we did not know much about the role of West Germany and its research institutes in Zaire. Now we know. Zaire has a specific mission and is assigned a specific role in the global strategy of imperialism. Mobutu is prepared to play that role. Let us confront Mobutu.

WESTERN SAHARA : POLISARIO FIGHTS

The crimes of King Hassan II of Morocco and President Mokhtar Ould Daddah of Mauritania against the people of Western Sahara and the successes of the Front Populaire pour la Liberation de Saguia el Hamria et Rio de Oro (Polisario) have been either underplayed or neglected by the Western press and to some extent by the African States, partly because the latter do not want to "interfere in the internal affairs" of sister members of the OAU or perhaps because Morocco has one of the strongest armies in Africa which "demonstrated" its strength during the uprising in the Shaba province of Zaire.

This has not stopped the people of the Western Sahara from fighting for their inalienable right to national self-determination and nationhood.

The people of the Western Sahara succeeded in driving the Spanish army out of their country and this seemed to suggest to the Moroccan and Mauritanian rulers that they can play the role of new colonisers. The discovery of phosphates in the latter half of this century was one of the reasons that attracted these "new colonisers". The Sahara people were bombed, napalmed, murdered and humiliated – their herds of cattle killed and sources of water poisoned. They resisted. The only "crime" they committed was to have large quantities of phosphates in their country. Parts of the country are occupied by Moroccan and Mauritanian troops and the people in these areas are suffering unemployment, poverty and harsh repression. The forces of aggression have been spreading lies and false propaganda to justify their occupation of Western Sahara. They say that the country has only 74,000 people, that is, "too few to constitute a nation"; and yet half of the Moroccan army's 60,000 men are in Western Sahara and another 16,000 are stationed near the Algerian border where about 100,000 Saharans have sought refuge. More than half of the Mauritanian's 20,000 strong army is also in Sahara.

Polisario is a genuine people's organisation which emerged in May 1973, from its predecessor, the Mouvement pour la Liberation du Sahara (MLS), which was founded in 1967. The launching of armed struggle precipitated this process. Repression increased and thousands fled to neighbouring countries. Today it is said that Morocco has occupied 11 towns and Mauritania 5 "and these are surrounded by barbed wire to keep the population in and the guerillas out". (*Africa* magazine, October 1977).

The resistance of the population is growing, especially in the cities, and Polisario has the support of the working class, the nomads, the youth, and needless to say, the exiles in the neighbouring countries. The small petit-bourgeoisie is interested in the revolution in Sahara, but the bourgeoisie proper – true to its class interests – sides with the Moroccan and Mauritanian invaders as it did with the Spanish.

Polisario has made many advances and its successes are an inspiration to all of us. The struggle, especially the armed struggle against the common enemy, has strengthened the bonds of unity and solidarity between the two major ethnic groups – the Arab-Berber and "Black Africans". Polisario has created popular institutions and structures to ensure that inner-party democracy is maintained. In February 1976, the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic was proclaimed and this is seen as part of or the beginning of a future "People's Maghreb" or "Maghreb of Militants".

One of the healthiest developments in Polisario is the cultivation of feelings of solidarity with Algeria and Libya – both backers of

Polisario and anti-colonial African states in their own right – and with Cuba, Mozambique, Angola, Guinea Bissau and with the struggles of the peoples of Southern Africa. This is expressed in an Arab, African and Moslem identity whose essence is anti-imperialist and anti-colonial solidarity. The significance of this anti-imperialist solidarity becomes obvious when we take into consideration the fact that the US has bases in Morocco and NATO wants Morocco to remain in the Western camp so as to allow the US Sixteenth Fleet to operate freely in the Mediterranean.

The guerillas of Polisario who are fighting under harsh desert conditions need assistance for survival. They need food, clothing, shelter, tobacco, medicine, stationery and weapons. Their struggle is ours.

Also available from

Inkululeko Publications
39 Goodge Street
London W1.

Moses Kotane: South African Revolutionary
by Brian Bunting. Price: South Africa R5.00; Africa £1.50;
Britain £3.00. All other countries $8.00 (US)

50 Fighting Years: The South African Communist Party 1921-1971
by A. Lerumo. Price: Britain & Africa £1.25. All other countries $4.00

The Road to South African Freedom: Programme of the SACP
Price: Britain & Africa 20p. All other countries 50 cents

International Meeting of Communist & Workers Parties, Moscow 1969
Price: £1.00 ($3.00)

GRAMSCI ON STATE & REVOLUTION

by John Hoffman

Over the past ten years the work of Antonio Gramsci has become increasingly well-known to Marxists in the English-speaking world: books and articles dealing with his life and writings multiply, well-attended conferences discuss his contribution to Marxist thought and many communists, particularly in Western Europe, draw upon his theories in developing their strategies for revolutionary change.

Who was Antonio Gramsci? A founder member of the Italian Communist Party in 1921, Gramsci became its secretary in 1924, a parliamentary deputy the following year and in November 1926 he was arrested by the Fascist government. In 1928 he was given a draconian prison sentence – "for twenty years", the public prosecutor had declared, "we must stop that brain from working" – and slowly rotted to death in the appalling conditions of one of Mussolini's prisons and although he was transferred to a clinic in Rome after an international campaign for his release, Gramsci died – aged only 46 – on April 27th, 1937.

Gramsci is best known for his famous "notebooks" written under immensely difficult conditions in prison (1) but the recently published *Selections from Political Writings 1910-1920* (2) give the reader a lively and graphic picture of the way Gramsci's thinking developed during the turbulent years in Italy following the 1st World War. These *Selections* serve as an invaluable introduction to Gramsci's later work.

Quinton Hoare, editor of the volume, writes that

> in confronting the great issues thrown up by the period through **which he was living, Gramsci produced a profoundly original body of thought — in close relation with a concrete revolutionary practice (3)**

and although Gramsci touches upon a wide variety of political questions in this selection, the centrepiece of this thought during this period is the question of the factory councils. These councils had developed out of the "internal commissions", factory committees elected by the workers to tackle problems on the shop floor, and had become increasingly militant towards the end of the war. In Turin, the councils mobilised many thousands of workers and were to seize control of the giant engineering plants in the spring of 1920. Gramsci was deeply and personally involved in the day-to-day activities of these councils and his particular assessment of their role and importance was highly controversial, bringing him into opposition both with the reformist leaders of the Socialist party and with fellow revolutionaries like Bordiga and Tasca – also to be key figures in the Communist Party which was formed in 1921. Their exchanges with Gramsci are included in this volume. Focussing attention particularly on Gramsci's analysis of the councils movement can only help us in coming to a more general assessment of the real merits of his political theory without seeking, as the editor puts it, "to obscure any of its weaknesses or ambiguities". (4)

(I) Factory Councils : Soviets in Italy?

By 1917 Gramsci had become a regular contributor to the socialist press in Turin and enthusiastically welcomed the news of the February revolution in Russia. In July that year, we find him praising Lenin and the Bolsheviks for the way in which they have "frustrated all attempts to stem the revolutionary tide" and have prevented "stagnant pools and backwaters from forming". (5) Indeed, what impresses Gramsci particularly about the Bolsheviks is their energetic and imaginative application of Marxist ideas to the conditions of Russia. Arguing that countries like Russia, Italy, France and Spain have many similarities, (6) Gramsci sees in the soviets, the famous workers, peasant and soldier councils which had sprung up even before the October revolution, the most exciting and relevant feature of the Russian experience.

As far as Gramsci was concerned, the great value of the soviet or workers' council was that it could involve the worker directly and immediately in political struggle of a revolutionary kind: there was no question of workers having to "sit back" and "wait patiently" for some kind of impersonal "history" to bring socialism about. This kind of thinking which Gramsci rightly denounced as "fatalism" was evident both among the reformists of the 2nd International (who had become frightened of revolutionary change) and the anarchist-minded, for whom the mass of the people are always passive spectators dumbly awaiting the "inspiration" and "guidance" of the dedicated few. Gramsci's passionate and overriding concern was to spread among the workers and peasants what he called "that sharp sense of historical responsibility that drives men to take an active part in life" (7) and in the elected factory committees he believed he had found "organs of workers' democracy" which must, as he put it,

> be freed from the limitations imposed on them by the entrepreneurs and infused with new life and energy

so that they become

> the organs of proletarian power, replacing the capitalist in all his useful functions of management and administration. (8)

In April 1919 Gramsci (along with Tasca, Terracini and the future communist leader, Togliatti) established a socialist weekly, the *Ordine Nuovo* which was to play a key role in helping to organise the factory councils in Turin and it is in the articles in this journal that he sets out his theory of the councils most fully.

Although Gramsci believed that the council movement was "the fruit of the theoretical labours of Russian communist comrades"(9), the councils which Gramsci spoke about differed significantly from the soviets which emerged in Russia. Whereas the factory councils were workshop based organisations rather like the English "shop steward committees" (but intended to represent even the non-union workers at the plant), the soviets were (and still are) territorial organisations based on towns and villages and part of a political and administrative structure culminating in the All-Russian Congress of Soviets, the Executive Committee and Council of People's Commissars. There are also, as Bordiga pointed out, factory-based councils in Russia, but these belong to a different network of representation: they are concerned with detailed questions of control over production and have representatives on the Councils of the People's Economy, sitting alongside the trade unions and state authorities. (10)

Gramsci argued however that the factory councils are (a) superior to the trade unions and (b) the basic units or "embryos" of the new socialist state. While the unions have an important defensive role to play in protecting the workers' interests, they are essentially the creations of capitalism and can only organise the workers as wage-earners – mere commodities tossed around by the iron laws of capitalist production and hemmed in by a union bureaucracy which "crushes any creative spirit". (11) The councils, on the other hand, enable the workers to begin to break with capitalism and develop through "conscious and voluntary discipline" what Gramsci calls a producer's mentality – "the mentality of a creator of history".(12) This is why the council represents the model of the new workers' state – the "national territory" of workers' self-government–and as "the sole and authentic social (economic and political) representatives of the proletarian class"(13), the councils must serve as the instruments for

> the expulsion of the capitalists from the process of production and instruments for the suppression of the bourgeoisie, as dominant class, from all the nation's institutions of control and economic centralisation. (14)

As the key "organs of proletarian power" the councils can begin the process of revolutionary change immediately and firmly rooted in the realm of production they represent, as Gramsci puts it,

> the first step in a historical process that should lead eventually to the Communist International . . . as a reorganisation of the world economy.(15)

These were exciting and stimulating ideas but how valid are they?

(II) Problems of Party and State

As Marxists see it, the essence of every revolution is the seizure of state power for only when the workers and their popular allies become the new ruling class, can the basis of society be transformed. This is why it is impossible to "gradually" accumulate power under capitalism by capturing isolated revolutionary "strongholds so that socialism emerges "bit by bit". As Bordiga argues, it is quite wrong to believe

> that the proletariat can achieve emancipation by making advances in economic relations while capitalism still holds political power through the State (16)

and moves towards "workers' control" are only progressive when they form part of an overall political strategy which aims to wrest state power from the hands of the ruling class. This is indeed why the Turin council movement was relatively easily crushed in April, 1920: isolated from the other centres in Italy, it was unable to lead a nationwide struggle which aimed to transform the system as a whole. In fact it is in the wake of this defeat, when the workers of Turin stood alone, that Gramsci begins to grasp the importance of two areas of analysis which he had so far neglected: the importance of the party and the question of the state.

Vague and utopian references to the socialist party as itself a model of "what the workers' State will be tomorrow" (17) now give way to a much clearer Leninist understanding of the party as leader and organiser of the mass movement. In an article well received by Lenin and the 3rd International, Gramsci writes

> the existence of a cohesive and highly disciplined communist party with factory, trade union and co-operative cells, that can co-ordinate and centralise in its central executive committee the whole of the proletariat's revolutionary action, is the fundamental and indispensable condition for attempting any experiment with Soviets. (18)

Despite a tendency throughout this period to speak of the councils as potential islands of socialism, Gramsci had now begun to grasp the importance of the leading role of the party and the need for a clear understanding of the state – both under capitalism, where, as Gramsci now says, nothing can be gained from the occupation of the factories if "one does not energetically organise . . . a political-economic centre (a workers' State)" (19) and under socialism when a "a period of 'dictatorship', a period of restrictions" is necessary if the working class is to achieve its liberation. (20)

In later years when Gramsci became leader and secretary of the Communist Party, he hardly ever referred to the factory councils except to say, for example, in 1924, that "the basic ideas which distinguished the activity of the *L'Ordine Nuovo* group" have become "anachronistic . . . the outlook is very different today" (21). Nevertheless it must be said that the idea of building socialist "embryos" inside a capitalist system lingers on in Gramsci's mature writing (around the concept of " hegemony", for example) (22), so that it is important, in making an overall assessment of Gramsci's writing in this period, to probe into some of the philosophical roots of the "factory council" idea for here we encounter weaknesses in Gramsci's outlook which he never fully succeeded in overcoming.

(III) "We wanted to act, to act, to act": the Problem of Determinism.

Looking back on the formation of the *Ordine Nuovo* in 1920, Gramsci comments that

> the only sentiment which united us, in our meetings of that period, was based on a vague enthusiasm for a vague proletarian culture; we wanted to act, to act, to act, we felt trapped, without perspective, amid the feverish life of those months following the armistice (23)

and this constant emphasis on the need for activity, mass work, grass roots involvement was to be the great strength of the council movement, whatever its other shortcomings. In Turin, the councils not only served to mobilise thousands, but helped to provide the future mass basis of the Italian Communist Party and while Bordiga was often correct in his theoretical differences with Gramsci, his own dogmatic rejection of electoral work, his elitist conception of the party and his general suspicion of the mass movement were far more damaging than the mistaken positions which Gramsci had adopted during this period.

It is important to bear this in mind when we consider some of the philosophical problems in Gramsci's work where weaknesses which are evident even in the later writings, manifest themselves quite sharply at this stage.

Gramsci's attempt to contrast the trade union as an organisation in which workers have "to obey the iron laws of necessity" (24) with the factory council through which workers can follow "their own freely generated impulses" (25) brings us face to face with a very old philosophical problem – the relation between freedom and necessity. Marxists have always understood that by man's freedom we mean his ability to understand, control and partially transform the forces of necessity, whether in society or nature, so that although our activity is always governed by natural laws, once we understand these laws, we can control them.

For Gramsci, however, who was in this repect still influenced by the idealist culture he had encountered as a student, freedom and necessity are irreconcilable foes! If we must still obey the laws of necessity, then we are not free, and if we are free, it must be because we have somehow replaced natural laws by pure acts of free will. This kind of thinking does indeed furnish the philosophical basis for the illusion that it is somehow possible to insulate yourself against the laws of capitalism while still remaining within its social framework.

In an article written in July 1919 we find Gramsci speaking as though it were possible for two rival sets of "historical laws" to exist side by side in a single society: the "laws of historical development" as " laid down by the property-owning class organised in the State" and the laws which are "inherent in the living conditions and historical experience of the exploited working class". (26) But laws of development are not something laid down by any ruling class: on the contrary, they are material forces which arise in society through the contradiction, for example, between technology and the relations of production and we consider them "material" because as Marx always stresses, they operate "independently of the will" and in a sense, "behind people's backs". To day, as Gramsci did, that the laws of society cannot be called "natural" because they involve human activity and that even natural laws

> **have no objective factual existence, but are constructs of our intelligence, designed to facilitate study and teaching, (27)**

is to embrace idealism rather than materialism.

This problem emerges starkly in the famous essay in 1916, "The Revolution Against Capital", where Gramsci contends that the Bolsheviks are rejecting Karl Marx by making a revolution which runs counter to the normally accepted schema of historical materialism. Certainly Gramsci was correct to attack the dogmatic "fatalism" of the Mensheviks who claimed that a socialist revolution was impossible in Russia, but it is wrong to ascribe this distortion of Marxism to historical materialism and Karl Marx. The Russian revolution was not merely some kind of heroic act of "will": it was the product of ripening material conditions – capitalist exploitation savagely intensified by the effect of war and a semi-feudal autocracy – which the Bolsheviks and particularly Lenin had been closely examining for some 20 years. It was a great vindication of Karl Marx that those "positivist and natural encrustations" which Gramsci believed still "contaminated" (28) Marx's writings are in fact precisely the elements which distinguish historical materialism from idealist thought.

The fact that men are determined by the world around them, does not paralyse them, but on the contrary, makes it necessary for them to act. It is not their ideas, but material forces which we must ultimately consider, The laws of capitalism oblige workers to organise and as they organise and increasingly understand these laws, so they can develop a realistic strategy for changing them: it is the very existence of a law-governed world which makes this kind of clarity possible so that as Lenin once put it,

> far from assuming fatalism, [as Gramsci indeed thought] determinism in fact provides a basis for rational action (29),

the necessary understanding of the material world without which a strategy for revolution cannot succeed .

The fate of the Turin councils demonstrates just how important it is to remember that feelings of "autonomy" and a "self-generated" freedom, while they raise morale, cannot by themselves change capitalism: what is needed is a hard-headed, materialist appraisal of the balance of forces as they exist locally, nationally and in the world at large – independently of what we may wish or "like" them to be. This kind of scientific appraisal can only help if we rid ourselves of all "idealist" prejudices against determinism and the world of necessity.

Gramsci was clearly right to stress the importance of activity and the importance of subjective factors – a “state of mental preparedness”, (30) determination, a passion for freedom and autonomy – in the class struggle, but these factors, vital as they are, are not sufficient. It is developments in the material world which are ultimately decisive : in today’s terms, the great advances of the socialist countries, the success of the national liberation movements, sharpening inter-imperialist rivalries and the contradictions in the capitalist system which drive an ever-deeper wedge between the monopolies and the people, the quest for profit and the needs of mankind.

These are some of the objective laws of development which no revolutionary can ignore. Unless they are carefully examined and the necessary character of these trends recognised and acted upon, then revolutionary parties run a grave risk of either an ultra-leftist “optimism” on the one hand, or a right-opportunist willingness to simply “come to terms” with the powers that be. These mistakes are inevitable when “wishful”thinking becomes a substitute for a materialist understanding of the real world.

Gramsci today is all too often remembered only for his weaknesses while his strengths as a dedicated communist and revolutionary are sometimes forgotten. The highest tribute which we can pay to a great thinker and Marxist, is to study his work critically so that a careful analysis of his work enriches our knowledge and grasp of scientific socialism. These *Selections* have much to offer and the reader who tackles them, will be well-placed to move on to the more complex but deeply rewarding masterpiece to which Gramsci gave so many painful years of his life: the *Prison Notebooks.*

NOTES

1. *Selections From the Prison Notebooks,* ed. Quinton Hoare and G. Nowell-Smith were published in 1971.
2. (International Publishers, New York, 1977) .
3. Ibid., p.xiv.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid., p. 32.
6. Ibid., p. 83.
7. Ibid.; p. 18.

8. Ibid., p. 66.
9. Ibid., p. 113.
10. Ibid., p. 222.
11. Ibid., p 98.
12. Ibid., p. 101.
13. Ibid., p. 116.
14. Ibid., p. 133.
15. Ibid., p. 264.
16. Ibid., p. 214.
17. Ibid., p. 176.
18. Ibid., p. 195.
19. Ibid., p. 328.
20. Ibid., p. 323.
21. Cited by Giuseppe Fiori, *Antonio Gramsci : Life of a Revolutionary*, (New Left Books, 1970), p.169.
22. Gramsci's concept of "hegemony" is developed in the *Prison Notebooks* where he argues, e.g. that a social group must first exercise "leadership" (i.e. be "hegemonic") before taking state power. (p.57-8). Clearly, as the editors of the Notebooks comment: "this thesis is open to reformist interpretations, involving an underestimate of the problem of the State in revolutionary strategy. But," they add, "there is little justification for imputing any such illusion to Gramsci himself". (p.207)
23. "Introduction", *Prison Notebooks*, op. cit., p. xxxvii.
24. *Selections from Political Writings 1910-1920,* op. cit., p.99.
25. Ibid., p. 189.
26. Ibid., p. 73.
27. Ibid., p. 49.
28. Ibid., p. 34.
29. *Collected Works* 1, (London/Moscow, 1960), p.420.
30. *Selections from Political Writings*, op. cit., p.12.

Letter to the Editor

DO BANTUSTANS EQUAL NEO-COLONIALISM?

From Arnold Selby, Berlin.

The Road to South African Freedom – the Programme of the South African Communist Party – describes South Africa as being a colonialism of a special type. This thesis is now generally accepted as correct pertaining to the conditions peculiar to South Africa. In this connection South Africa is often referred to as a special case.

But being a "colonialism of a special type" does not put South Africa outside the general universal laws of social development. To ignore this would be tantamount to interpreting South Africa and changing it as being outside the scope of the general interpretation of our world and the struggle to change it.

Being a "colonialism of a special type" does not make all aspects of the liberation struggle and the struggle for socialism in South Africa a struggle of a special type. There are specific conditions pertaining to South Africa just as any other country has conditions peculiar to itself, and the theory and practice of the struggle must be in conformity with these conditions. But these specific conditions do not make the theory and practice of the struggle "special" – that is, they do not place them outside the general universal laws of social development.

The Road to South African Freedom says ". . . . real power is in the hands of the monopolists who own and control the mines, banks and finance houses, and most of the farms and major industries . . . (They) are closely connected with American and British imperial interests. These monopolies are the real power in South Africa. The special type of colonialism in South Africa serves, in the first place, their interests".

The document adopted at the Consultative Conference of the African National Congress in Morogoro in May 1969 reads: "Our immediate enemies, the White fascist regime in South Africa, are an important and integral part of the imperialist camp . . . The pillars of the anti-imperialist movement are the Soviet Union and other socialist states, in alliance with the progressive states in Africa, Asia and Latin America, the revolutionary movements in countries which are still under White and colonialist rule, and the democratic forces in the imperialist countries themselves . . . The African National Congress is deeply interested in the anti-imperialist movement. The success of the struggle in South Africa, its duration and cost in human life, depend to a great extent upon the solidarity, strength and unity of the anti-imperialist forces of the world".

In an article in Sechaba entitled "Our Anti-Imperialist Commitment", ANC General Secretary Alfred Nzzo writes: " . . . It is therefore no accident that the whole rotten system of apartheid and racialism in South Africa is faithfully and consistently defended by the Western imperialist powers. The destiny and fate of the imperialist powers is inextricably bound up with the fate of their racialist fortresses in South Africa . . . Just as the White racialists are the nerve centre of the imperialist powers, so too, the African National Congress and the oppressed and exploited peoples of South Africa are an important detachment, a vital and integral part of the anti-imperialist movement".

"The Road to South African Freedom" says: "The destruction of colonialism and the winning of national freedom is the essential condition and the key for further advance to the supreme aim of the

Communist Party: the establishment of a socialist South Africa, laying the foundation of a classless, communist society."

Thus the character of this struggle for the destruction of colonialism, i.e., colonialism of a special type, and the winning of national freedom is an anti-imperialist struggle within the three main revolutionary trends of our time – the socialist community of states, the national and social liberation movements in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the progressive forces in the imperialist countries themselves.

Bantustans and Colonialism of a Special Type

In the *African Communist* No. 68 (1977), the book *Southern Africa – the New Politics of Revolution,* is reviewed. In dealing with the section "No Middle Road". by J. Slovo, the reviewer, T., examines the thesis of "colonialism of a special type" in relation to the apartheid government's Bantustan manoeuvre and writes: "Slovo extends this now well accepted thesis to explain the present government's Bantustan policy, which would give a form of phoney "independence" to ethnically based statelets conjured up in Black rural areas. Since oppressor and oppressed occupy a single country, South Africa's "colonialism of a special type", Slovo reasons, cannot react in the manner of classic colonialism when seriously challenged; it cannot retreat from political control in order to maintain economic control in a new nationally independent state, in the established pattern in Africa which has come to be called neo-colonialism. It cannot withdraw to its real power base in some distant metropolis, after a negotiated hand-over to a submissive bureaucratic elite . . . Hence its own brand of neo-colonialism can operate only on the basis of a politically fragmented South Africa. The Bantustan policy then is neo-colonialism of a special type, 'an attempt to partially externalise the colonial relationship in the shape of ethnic states, eventually having all the attributes of formal political independence'."

This viewpoint presupposes that the Bantustan policy is neo-colonialist in character and as South Africa is a colonialism of a special type it then follows that this form of neo-colonialist policy is a neo-colonialism of a special type. But the question remains open - Is the Bantustan policy neo-colonialist in character?

Bantustans and Independence

In an article entitled "The Main Danger", the Soviet scientist N. Simonia writes: "In its relations with the former colonies and semi-colonies, imperialism appears more and more frequently in its new form, that of neo-colonialism. The main feature of neo-colonialism is transition from outright violence to deceit. This deceit is basically aimed at limiting the change to the abolition of the colonial form of administration only, while continuing to exploit the former colonies economically without direct, open military and political domination".

In seeking an answer to the question – Is the Bantustan policy neo-colonialist in character? – one has to examine whether the Bantustans are, to use N. Simonia's words, "the change to the abolition of the colonial form of administration only". And one has to take this a step further and ask – What is the character of such an administration? What is the power base on which it operates? It has to be established whether in fact the Bantustans are, or can be, states. Could "ethnically based statelets" or "a politically fragmented South Africa" be authentic state forms?

Functioning on South African territory outside the South African state apparatus are the sovereign independent states of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland. The South African state seeks to pursue a neo-colonialist policy towards these three countries. Whatever degree of success the Pretoria regime may have in its neo-colonialist ambitions, the fact remains that Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland are independent states in their own right.

In his address to the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow on June 16th, 1969, the late Comrade J.B. Marks said: " . . . the present day Republic of South Africa is an imperialist state itself. It has seized the former mandate of Namibia and exploits it as a colony". Thus in relation to Namibia, South Africa is a direct colonial power. On Namibian territory the South African occupationists have started a process for the formation of ethnic statelets. Could the relations between these ethnic formations and the Pretoria occupationists be called neo-colonialist? Are the so-called Turnhalle talks neo-colonialist in character? In these talks and in negotiations with its Western imperialist allies the apartheid state has put Namibia's independence for December this year. An independence which nobody, except White settlers and puppets, want. Would this independence make Namibia a sovereign state like Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland? No. The apartheid state does not visualise such independence. Thus it must be asked: Would Namibian independence, a la Pretoria, make the land one huge Bantustan, or a neo-colony, or both? Or would Namibia still be an apartheid occupied territory under a different guise? And what of the Bantustan formations on Namibian territory? Are they to be neo-colonies of the puppet administrations in Windhoek or of the Pretoria regime? I pose these questions here to emphasise the double character of the South African state – a direct colonial power in relation to Namibia, a neo-colonialist power in relation to independent African states and a colonialism of a special type within the boundaries of its own territory.

States, Statelets, Political Fragmentations

The State is a highly organised class system of society that defends the interests of the class which operates its machine. That is the class which owns the means of production. In South Africa this is, as stated by the Programme of the Communist Party: " . . . the monopolists who control the mines, banks and finance houses, and most of the farms and major industries . . . These monopolies are the real power in South Africa".

This power of the monopolies, through the state machine, covers the whole of the South African state territory as a single cohesive unit. In Fifty Fighting Years, Comrade A. Lerumo says: "The political, economic and social structure of South Africa rests on the foundation of the colonial dispossession and enslavement of the Africans.To maintain and perpetuate this structure is the cardinal policy of all sections of the White ruling classes. The differences between them are and have ever been related only to the question of how best to achieve this policy. They are quick to sink their differences and join forces if the colonialist structure is at stake."

In the process of the colonial dispossession and enslavement of the African people all pre-capitalist relations on the territory of the South African state were destroyed. The only class relations now existing on the whole of the South African state territory are those between the monopolies, as represented by the White ruling classes, and the dispossessed and enslaved Africans and other sections of the Black population.

If the Bantustans are to have a semblance of statehood, if the old colonialism is on the retreat and is seeking to retain its grip in a new form, then what are the class relations on the territories of the Bantustans and between whom? What are the means of production to be owned in the Bantustans and who owns them?

It is generally known that the 80 bits and pieces of territory earmarked for Bantustans are overcrowded poverty stricken slums which are nothing but pools of cheap near slave labour. Thus with no means of production to own, an indigenous capitalist class, as an appendage of the neo-colonialist monopolies, cannot be brought into being within the state formation of the Bantustan territories. Whatever way they are dressed up the Bantustans remain pools of cheap labour, they remain component parts of the whole apparatus of the South African State machine, and the class relations remain between the monopolies which own the means of production on the whole of the South African state territory, and the mass of the Black population living and working on the South African state territory of which the Bantustans are an integral part.

In *The African Communist* review of "No Middle Road", it is stated that unlike the classic neo-colonialism, South Africa's own brand of neo-colonialism cannot withdraw, "to its real power base in some distant metropolis, after a negotiated hand-over to a submissive bureaucratic elite". Colonialism never withdrew and handed over to a submissive bureaucratic elite of its own accord. It was forced to withdraw due to the national and social liberation fight of the peoples and to the change in the world's balance of forces in favour of socialism. The people demanded that they "get out".

Cases of handing over power to submissive bureaucratic elites were counter-attacks against the liberation movements, they were manoeuvres to cut losses and to lay the basis for the regaining of lost positions through the new form of colonialism – neo-colonialism. But in these countries the character of the peoples' struggle has changed. There the fight is no longer a direct confrontation with the power base in some distant metropolis. It is now a direct confrontation with the new power, the bureaucratic elite and the new rising capitalist class. This confrontation takes place in sovereign independent states.

Popular Resistance

In the Bantustans the people have resisted the imposition of the so-called independence. Here there are no bureaucratic elites climbing to power on the peoples' legitimate demands for liberation. Here the bureaucratic elites are put into office against the will of the people by the South African state. This is not the "abolition of the colonial form of administration, only", as defined by N. Simonia. Quite the opposite. It is entrenching and intensifying colonialism in South Africa, i.e. colonialism of a special type.

The Bantustans, though taking on the mantle of state attributes, are components of the South African state apparatus. And the bureaucratic elites and puppets running the Bantustan administrations are servants of the South African state. Thus it is erroneous to refer to the Bantustan policy as neo-colonialist, or a special type of neo-colonialism. The contradictions between the Bantustan administrations are not the same as the contradictions between the former colonies and the metropolitan states.

Unlike the bureaucratic elite and rising capitalists in former colonies who are able to share a great deal of the spoils of exploitation with the former colonial masters as representatives of sovereign independent states, the Bantustan administrators are regarded by the South African state as inferiors and servants, to be subjected to White domination for all time to come.

This is an important contradiction between the Bantustan administrators and the South African state; Wherever possible such contradictions must be used to the fullest to promote the armed liberation struggle. Contradictions between the population and the Bantustan administrators must also be closely examined. But it must always be borne in mind that the fundamental class contradiction is on the whole of the South African state territory, including the Bantustans, between the masses of the dispossessed and enslaved peoples and the monopolies as represented by the South African state.

The answer is, as stated in the review in *The African Communist* of "No Middle Road": "The path to which South Africa's national liberation movement is committed is not one which it has selected from a group of viable alternatives. There is no other path (than revolutionary force. T.) to the winning of majority rule in South Africa."

BOOK REVIEWS

LIBERATION PROBLEMS IN THE U.S.

Class, Race and Black Liberation

by Henry Winston. International Publishers, New York, 1977 ($2.75).

Henry Winston, chairman of the Communist Party of the USA, is known all over the world as a wide and courageous leader, a clear-sighted Marxist analyst and a devastating polemicist. His latest book will not fail to add to that reputation. Although *Class, Race and Black Liberation* is written primarily for an American readership and not all parts of it are of equal interest to the reader outside America, it has a great deal to teach socialists everywhere.

Particularly valuable for Africans is Winston's analysis of the similarities between certain deviations which Marxists have to fight in southern Africa, in the independent African states, and in the USA. On the one hand there is the right-wing deviation which falsely labels itself as "Pan-Africanism". In Southern Africa, this manifests itself in repeated attempts to split the liberation movement and replace it with rival movements founded in racialism and anti-communism. In independent Africa, it produces visionary concepts of "African unity" hostile to the reality of the struggle of existing African states for full independence. Among black Americans it manifests itself in the reactionary and infantile slogan of "back to Africa". Winston shows with piercing clarity how all these notions spring from a common root – the denial of the class struggle and of anti-imperialist solidarity. All lead eventually to collaboration with the very forces of racial oppression which they claim to be fighting against, because they repudiate the only effective anti-racialist force in the world – the great alliance of the oppressed nationalities, the world working class and the socialist countries.

On the other hand, there is the left-wing deviation which pretends that national liberation is a non-Marxist concept, inconsistent with the class struggle. This has been as persistent an error among would-be Marxist intellectuals in the USA as among their equivalents in southern Africa. Winston shows how the victims of this delusion, in their futile search for "pure" working class policies, ignore the practical demands of the peoples, turn down opportunities to form effective united fronts around national liberation programmes and, once again, end by playing right into the hands of the capitalist class whom they claim to hate.

Also intensely interesting is Winston's comparison between the policies of apartheid and those of certain reactionary black politicians in the USA. Prominent among these politicians is Roy Innis, notorious for his proposal to recruit black Americans to fight for the Savimbi gang in Angola.* Innis preaches the idea that black Americans should seek their future in the economic progress of those areas which they predominantly inhabit. He refers to the existing ghettos, into which racism and exploitation have forced the blacks, as the "economic base for political power". He pathetically attempts to draw comparisons between these and the independent states of Africa, even going so far as to babble of "sovereignty" for the ghettos. The parallels with South Africa's myths of "Bantu homelands", "development in their own areas" and the "sovereign" Transkei are apparent. The answer is also common to South Africa and the USA alike. As Winston eloquently demonstrates, the only real answer to the problems of the oppressed nationalities of both regions is working class power, to be exercised not over any so-called black areas but over the whole of the territories and the economies of South Africa and the USA respectively.

Two chapters of Winston's book are concerned with the errors of Maoism. These contain theses of the utmost importance. Winston is not content simply to dispute the Maoist "three worlds" theory, the dogma of the inevitability of war and the distortion of the concepts of antagonistic and non-antagonistic contradictions. He goes on to accuse the Chinese government of operating an actual alliance with West German and US imperialism and of being itself chauvinist, aggressive and imperialist. He analyses the nature of the Chinese government in the following words:

> Today the Maoist military-bureaucratic regime has temporarily defeated working class power and revived Han chauvinism in order to maintain control in China and advance its great-power chauvinist goals beyond its borders.

This characterisation may well be correct. The evidence on which it is based is only too tragically well known. But if this characterisation is correct, we are in the presence of a new phenomenon of the most profound significance and the further analysis of this phenomenon is urgently necessary. As Winston rightly says:

> History can neither be "pushed" nor "stopped" by the will of individuals or groups without regard to the specific mode of production in a given society and the contradictions that give rise to the struggle to resolve them.

What, then, is the specific mode of production in Chinese society today? Who are the ruling class in China and in what relationship do they stand to the means of production? What are the economic objectives of Chinese imperialism? How did the present ruling class arise and how seize power? How do we know that their power is only temporary? Is it possible that a similar class may emerge in other countries where working class power has been established?

It would be wrong to criticise Henry Winston on the ground that his book does not contain answers to these questions. They are questions which lie outside his theme and which require another book to deal adequately with them. But he has gone on record with the central thesis and there is no-one better equipped than he is to supply the supporting analysis. May we hope to read his further thoughts on this subject, soon?

P.M.

A SLICE OF HISTORY

From Protest to Challenge Vols. 3 and 4.

Edited by Thomas Caris, Gwendolen Carter and Gail M. Gerhart.
Published by Hoover Institution Press, Stanford, California.

Many years of careful collection of documents from the South African national liberation struggle are brought to an end by the final two volumes in Karis and Carter's massive work *From Protest to Challenge* (volumes 3 and 4). Working from Stanford University's Hoover Institution, the authors – properly Dr. Gwendolen Carter and Professor Thomas Karis – have previously compiled documents covering the period from 1882 to 1952. Volume 3 carries the compilation through from that time to 1964. It covers therefore the great formative years in which mass militant struggle for national liberation came of age, dominating the stage of South African politics, straddling the whole range of political tactics from passive resistance to mass resistance, from legal to illegal, from peaceable to violent.

Essentially, the documents are those of the African National Congress and its leading personalities – appropriately so, as befits the most important of the national liberation organisations. To a lesser extent it takes in documents of the "Congress Alliance" of the ANC with its Indian, Coloured and white allied organisations of the fifties and sixties; and also documents of the Pan-Africanist Congress. Its editors do not claim to present a complete record; much research and investigatory work remains to be done to unearth the remaining material from the deep darkness into which South Africa's repressive system has driven it. But despite its incompleteness, theirs is an impressive collection of most of the vital, the landmark documents which blaze the trail of the Congress during those years, so wide-ranging (800 pages of fairly close print) that it is impossible to summarise its scope. They range from Presidential addresses at closed ANC annual conferences, to calls to the nation for general strikes; from angry mass women's declarations at Union Buildings, to defence addresses in the Treason Trial; from Nelson Mandela's prophetic *'No Easy Walk to Freedom'* of 1953, to his last public statement from the Rivonia trial court before being sentenced to life imprisonment; from Chief Lutuli's first Presidential speech at an

ANC Conference in 1953, to his Oslo speech in acceptance of the Nobel Peace Prize, and almost his last public statement at the end of the Rivonia trial; from the first seminal proposals for a constitutional conference made by Professor Z.K. Matthews, to the Congress of the People and the Freedom Charter; from ANC leaflets of 1961 calling for a national stay-at-home in protest at the proclamation of the South African Republic without consultation, to the PAC leaflet *"Poqo, poqo, poqo"* opposing such action; from the leaflet *"Azikwelwa"*, inspiring the Alexandra Bus Boycott of 1957, to the manifesto of Umkhonto we Sizwe announcing the new state of violent and armed struggle in December 1961.

These and many other documents, set out in full without editing, will be an invaluable and unique source for students of the history of the liberation movement.

But yet documents – as the editors themselves are fully aware – do not of themselves make a history. They are the dry written relics of a movement which was compounded not of words alone – though words formed a vital and necessary part of it – but of actions by thousands upon thousands of living men and women, acting together and alone to move the wheel forward. The words and documents were the inspirational and educational primers; but the real actors were people – both great and small, not all leaders, spokesmen, writers, but mainly doers, followers; often inarticulate, plain angry, goaded, bitter, but yet prepared to act, determined. This is the part of history which is not to be culled from the documentary record; and certainly it was never as clearly directioned, as ideologically prepared, as neat, tidy or as clear-cut as the documentary evidence might lead one to think. That the editors understand this is clear from the introductory historical essays which provide something of a framework, a background for each section of the documentary record. These essays round out an otherwise one-dimensional picture. But not sufficiently.

Even within the limitations of the printed word as a testimony to history, the editors have in fact set themselves other and more serious special limitations by carefully selecting – dare one say screening? – their material for publication. There is, for example, not a single document from the South African Communist Party in the collection. Yet no one, not even the editors themselves in their introductory historical essays, can deny that Communism exercised a substantial influence on the liberation movement, not only on its actions but also in the formation and consolidation of its ideology, which is the stuff of which the published documents are made. Now it is true that from the Suppression of Communism Act in 1950, until the middle of 1960, the Communist Party chose to function in complete secrecy, never disclosing its existence by any printed document issued for public consumption. And it is equally true that the editors are unlikely to have been able to get access to any of the secret documents of the period which may have been circulated privately. But why are there no documents from the extremely fertile, almost vociferous, public, though illegal Communist publications from the time of its emergence into the light in 1960? Clearly there has been a process of screening, or of deliberate selection to exclude Communist documentation – though the historical record is lopsided, unbalanced and untrue without it. This very communist-phobia, so common among American 'Africanists', also shows repeatedly in the historical essays, where the authors worry away at the question: "Was 'X' a Communist?" ('X' being Mandela, Sisulu, and almost any other militant you can think of who was not patently anti-Communist) – as though the question has some vital importance to the period. No participant in the actions of those times, remembering Kotane, Communist and ANC Executive member, or Marks, Communist and Transvaal ANC President, and a host of others will understand this singularly American – or is it imperialist? – obsession with the question, which tells more about those who ask it than about the subjects of their question. This Communist-seeking obsession disturbs the balance of any real appraisal of the South African national liberation struggle, in precisely the same way that it disturbs the balance of the documentary record of that struggle as contained in this volume.

Whether it is this basic anti-Communism which weights the historical essays, or whether it is that the historical essays are too heavily weighted by reference to the documentary records alone is hard to say. But the histories are, in my opinion, too heavily weighted for example, in assessment of the scope and importance of the PAC during these years; and conversely too lightly weighted in assessing the importance of the mass general strikes of that period, called usually by the ANC in alliance with the Communist Party or the other Congresses. Historical objectivity and anti-communism do not bed down easily together.

Some of the imbalance is revealed – but not set right – by volume 4. which is really a companion volume to the whole documentary series in volumes 1 and 3. Called Political Profiles, it gives short life histories – in so far as they are known – of some 300 men and women whose names have figured often – or perhaps prominently or publicly – on the stage of national liberation struggles over the 82 year period. Here, willy nilly, is the evidence that many of them were indeed Communists, often simultaneously prominent Communists and prominent national liberation fighters at the same time. How many more of the 300 were in fact Communists than the authors' data disclose can only be guessed at. And how many more of the nameless rank and filers? But here is the evidence that known and acknowledged communists have a solid record of service and of sacrifice in the South African liberation movement. It does them less than justice to expunge the written record of their aims, views and opinions – from the archives of that movement, whether at the Hoover Institution or anywhere else.

T.

RACISM AND IMPERIALISM IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

The Imperialist Nature of Racism in Southern Africa

Special issue of *Asia, Africa, Latin America,* published by Akademie-Verlag, Berlin.

"An historical analysis of the relationship between racist ideology and racial discrimination on the one hand and imperialism on the other shows conclusively that they are closely, indeed organically interrelated."

This conclusion, itself a part of the paper dealing with "The relationship between Racism and Imperialism with special regard to the situation in Southern Africa", is the main theme of a number of contributions dealing with racist ideology and South African imperialism as part of the world imperialist system. The contributions, read at a symposium organised by Humboldt University and the Central Council for Asiatic, African and Latin American studies in the GDR in association with Karl Marx University, Leipzig, on June 15 and 16, 1976, have now been published in a special issue of the journal, *Asia, Afrika, Lateinamerika.* By bringing together in a single issue the papers read by "historians, economists, jurists and social scientists from the German Democratic Republic, the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of Hungary and South Africa" the journal has made a valuable and timeous contribution to our knowledge and understanding of the complex and many-sided nature of South African imperialism and the role racist ideology plays within this socio-economic structure.

The paper from which the above quotation is taken, whilst dealing exclusively with an historical analysis of the rise of racist ideology as a weapon of the imperialist bourgeoisie in the era of imperialism, develops into an equally pertinent analysis of South African imperialism as "not only part of world capitalism; economically, politically and militarily it is a fully integrated element of the imperialist system.... for its survival it requires support from these powers and receives it in open or disguised form, constituting as it does an important base for them in global terms", and furthermore "... South Africa has been a colonially exploited country and a source of astronomical profits for a host of multinational and South African monopoly finance and industrial groups and corporations."

The extent of South Africa's reliance on the imperialist powers and the latter's involvement in the development of South African imperialism and exploitation of the black working class form the subject matter of papers dealing with the militarisation of the South African regime with the active support of the NATO powers, and the role of the multinational corporations, both as exploiters of the black workers as well as underwriters of the economic development of South Africa in the crucial manufacturing and financial sectors. The research into the military and economic support given the South African regime is both up-to-date and extensive, leaving no room for doubt that the imperialist powers, in particular the USA, Great Britain, France and West Germany, are deeply involved in the maintenance and strengthening of the racist-capitalist regime.

A paper entitled "the new trend of Imperialism in relation to the National Liberation struggle in South Africa" places in perspective the imperialist manouevres in Southern Africa, given the rising tide of revolutionary struggle in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa, pointing out the attempts by US and British imperialism to determine the pace and character of the peoples' struggles. In particular an exhaustive analysis is made of the attacks being launched by bourgeois historians and ideologists with the aid of collaborationist elements styling themselves as the true revolutionaries (e.g. the PAC and the expelled "group of eight") against the genuine revolutionary organisations of the oppressed and exploited black majority led by the ANC in alliance with the SACP.

Equally penetrating are the contributions dealing with the economic functions of the Bantustans and the role of the multinational, South African-based Anglo-American Corporation and the politico-economic strategy of the chief executive, Harry Oppenheimer, and the Party which has his backing, the Progressive Reform Party.

Other papers elaborate on the nature of exploitation of Africans in the mines; a comparison between racist legislation in Israel and South Africa; the attitude of the imperialist powers to international law on racism, and the relationship – political, military and economic – between the racist regimes of Vorster and Smith.

The one omission which is crucial to a further elaboration of South African imperialism is the internal dynamics of monopoly and state monopoly capitalist development in South Africa. The 1962 Programme of the SACP – the Road to South African Freedom – characterises South Africa as a highly developed capitalist country with all the features of an advanced imperialism. In particular, the Programme lays stress on the development of monopoly capitalism as a dominant feature of South African capitalism and constituting the objective basis of South African imperialism.

A paper analysing the further development of monopoly and state monopoly capitalism in South Africa, and the increasing attempts to penetrate, not only the immediately surrounding independent African states, but also the African continent, would undoubtedly prove to be a valuable back-drop to the excellent studies presented in this issue of the journal. This particularly at a time when Southern Africa and South Africa especially have become the centres of revolutionary upsurge and with it the focal points of imperialist reaction.

G.S.

WHEN BANDA DIES. . . . .

Malawi: Foreign Policy and Development

by Carolyn McMaster. Julian Friedmann, £3.50.

Studies on Malawi are few and far betweeen. Yet although Malawi is a small country, landlocked, with few covetable resources, it lies in a key situation in the Central African highlands between South Africa, Rhodesia, Mozambique and Tanzania, and the people from Lake Nyasa have played no small part in the history of the region as a whole. From John Chilembwe, through Clements Kadalie to numberless more recent militants of the liberation movements of South Africa and Zimbabwe (and Tanzania), Malawians have played an extraordinary part in neighbouring political struggles. Many of them, like Dr. Banda once did himself, made long journeys as migrant workers, and gained "education" by any means they could. They became trade union organisers, freedom fighters. They were cosmopolitans – as are many people from small countries, throughout the world.

It is a special irony that today Malawi has become the most isolated area in the subcontinent. News flows freely neither in nor out. Research studies are not encouraged, and Dr. Banda's government has been known to put considerable pressure to see that books are not published. This one seems itself to have been held up for three years.

And that is its first and most obvious weakness: it deals with foreign policy, notably with the government's flagrant co-operation with the Republic of South Africa, as a function of Malawi's geographical position in relation to the white-ruled territories, yet it was completed before the Frelimo victory of 1974, which the author does not even foresee. And neither she nor the publishers have seen fit to add even a postscript on how Mozambican independence has modified, or yet may modify, Malawian policy towards apartheid.

The second weakness is that though the book's subject is ostensibly foreign policy and development, background on the country's internal economic structure, such as would enable the reader to interpret the meanings of policies and the significance of those negotiations about the lakeside highway, for instance, is sketchy indeed.

But there remains a great deal worth reading, nevertheless. The author is clear and level-headed, and she traces the development of Dr.

Banda's political policies since independence in 1964, through the "cabinet crisis" of 1965 that made exiles of most of the younger leaders who had not only fought the independence struggle, but built Dr. Banda's own political standing preparatory to his own return from a 45-year exile, and left him in the position of personal power that he has so well consolidated since. Perhaps, inevitably, in view of the limited scope of the book, she resolves the mystery of why Malawi should have chosen alliance with white South Africa – to the extent of exchange of diplomatic missions, use of white South Africans in key civil service posts and even a probable (secret) defence agreement, as well as increasing trade and investment links – largely in terms of the President's own personality and history. She stresses his conservatism, his age, his puritanism (which she nicely compares with that of an elder of a Scottish church), his almost paranoid anti-communism, and his drive for personal power. But she also exposes Britain's own responsibility, as the continued main source of foreign aid; and makes clear that, whatever Dr. Banda may claim, his policy is not the "only realistic" one in his situation – she contrasts Malawian policy not only with that of Zambia, but with far more vulnerable Botswana, to show that he has chosen his alliance, not been forced into it.

She does not explain how the old doctor has managed to induce the Malawian people to accept collaboration: she does not deal with internal policies, so the monolithic state, political detentions, and informer systems of political repressions are mentioned only in passing. The table of Constitutional Changes at the back of the book however, contains many useful clues. And there are other clues to contradictions in Malawian society: the fact that investment has gone into foreign business and large-scale farming, and only in the earliest years into peasant farming; the increasing dependence on migrant labour (to South Africa), and the information that discontent is most evident in the young graduate generation who, ironically again, are those who have to work most closely under expatriate (often, South African) whites in the civil service and in commerce.

The parallel that kept springing to my mind, was not with any other independent African state, but with South Africa's other vassal, the Transkei: the echoes even include Malawi's continued dependence on Britain to balance her annual budget. But what if Transkei had a Mozambique on her border? Dr. Banda is in any case nearing 80 (his age, like much else, is an enigma), and as Carolyn McMaster concludes, his death or his overthrow must mean a profound crisis for Malawi since he has allowed no heir apparent to emerge. The coming few years may be very interesting indeed.

R.A.

IMPERIALIST MOTIVATIONS IN HISTORICAL STUDIES

The Burden of the Present: liberal-radical controversy over Southern African History

by Harrison M. Wright. (David Philip, Cape Town, with Rex Collings, London, 1977.)

At a time when U.S. imperialism in particular is stepping up its involvement in Southern Africa, recognising the region's potential as the next world-shaker, academics are hardly likely to escape the sharpening ideological struggle. Throughout the 1950's and much of the 60's, South African social science was dominated by a tradition handed down from white, English-speaking academics, broadly known as the 'liberal' school. These liberals, in general, considered the apartheid system as an archaic product of Afrikaner nationalism and Calvinism and favoured its removal both for declared and moral reasons and because they regarded it as 'irrational' and imposing limitations on industrial development. These were days of Britain's neo-colonial solutions to African national struggles for independence. Increasingly the liberal-capitalist view has been challenged by a younger generation of academics led by Marxists, who appear to have become known as the 'radical' school. Essentially they identify capitalism as the moving force of apartheid in South Africa, and thus give weight to the analysis of class as well as national factors.

It is hardly surprising therefore that with radical changes in Mocambique and Angola, and an increasingly explosive situation in Zimbabwe and South Africa, closer entanglement in Southern African affairs by the U.S. should include an academic dimension -- one which will provide the fodder and the ammunition for 'new' accommodating solutions to the problems of the region. The Ford Foundation has donated its entire Southern Africa budget for the next three years to a Centre of Southern African Studies at Yale University where scholars will carry out research on the "ethnic and racial conflicts" in Southern Africa, and on the interaction of foreign policies in the area. The African-American Scholars' Council has just produced a massive report on Namibia and Zimbabwe, and the options for American imperialism which the U.S. State Department commissioned at a cost of one million dollars. *The Burden of the Present* is a book which signs up with this reactionary, new counter-attack.

Professor Wright, of Swarthmore College, Pennsylvania, has written this slight volume ostensibly to instruct other academic historians, specifically South Africans, on the writing of good history. Both the liberal and radical schools of South African historians suffer from a "basic methodological failing" which arises from the pressures they feel from urgent contemporary issues, he tells us. Thus hamstrung by the burden of the present, the "major failing of all schools of history (in South Africa) has been their unwillingness, in the pursuit of causes, to recognise the extraordinary complexity of the South African past".

The examples he chooses from each school are too few, and the attacks he makes upon them professionally are too crude, for a serious and detailed reply here. In any case, those who wish to defend themselves against Professor Wright's specific criticisms will find other platforms. For political militants, the need to consider his charges (that liberal historians are characterised by their moral judgments on actors – and primarily on backward and racist Afrikaner – behaviour, by their static preconceptions hemmed in by liberal imperatives; or that the radicals allow their "few widely held theories about the nature of historical processes" to override the evidence) is less urgent than exposing Wright's central purpose: what emerges most sharply from this book is the author's alarm that neither school finds any merit in apartheid.

Of course nowhere does Professor Wright make this explicit. Indeed he is very careful not to appear to take sides on the issues he raises in criticising an author, preferring instead to muddle them even further by throwing in a few random and apparently contradictory quotations from other authors.

However, he is also anxious not to be caught out on the old cry of 'balderdash' to claims of 'value-free' social science, and hence tells us that "there can be no entirely 'objective' history" as a result, only "greater or lesser violations of good scholarship". And here he draws in American historian Eugene Genovese's plea for excusal from the battlefront: "the role of the socialist historian is to be a good historian".

Wright's attack on the liberal school is naturally less scathing than that on the radicals. The liberals after all are not anti-free enterprise. But they are a woolly lot, not at all clear on the relation between industrialization and racial divisions, yet full of talk about equality, racial harmony and integration and democracy. Wright's irritation with them lies in their burdens of conscience about apartheid; if only they could write history without blaming the Afrikaner nation for its existence, they might manage to escape their conviction that apartheid is bad.

However, if the liberals are a befuddled lot theoretically, and hence meddlesome would-be do-gooders, the radicals are far worse sinners. For their interpretation of apartheid as a system whose raison d'etre and dynamic is capital accumulation and profit clearly poses a greater threat to imperialist interests. Apart from the tired, repetitive charge of inaccuracies in their writing – and, incidentally, one that he fails in effect to substantiate – Professor Wright accuses them of 'denigrating' Africans in their writings and of producing theory which doesn't accord with the facts. (Wright apparently believes that work done by, inter alia, Colin Bundy, Henry Slater and Giovanni Arrighi on the initially positive response some African peasants had to capitalist penetration – until they were smashed as a class by political repression – indicates a cultural imperialism by these authors and a denigration of other African peasants who did not or could not.) He wants the radicals to recognise that "impersonal and uncontrollable social forces often determined the course of a society's development ... that there are not always particular individuals or particular groups that can be held responsible for every example of human misery".

Here is the crux of Wright's message: the study of the past ought not to be undertaken with a view to understanding and therefore changing the present. Historians ought not, he says, to use their historical work directly to promote their particular social purposes, but ought instead to "fight against the natural tendency to do so". Furthermore he tells us – in spite of disclaiming the possibility of 'objectivity' in history – that questions of the past are always empirical, not theoretical. In other words, facts speak for themselves, without being informed by current theoretical insight or interpretation.

Strange advice from someone whose purpose is clearly ideologically based! But the apparent contradiction between his own method and his opposition to its use by others lies simply in his recognition of the role of social science in political struggle. Wright appreciates all too well that by being burdened with the present, both liberal and radical historians are centrally concerned with the causes and explanations for the system of apartheid. By being obsessed with Afrikaner nationalism as the cause of that system, the liberals are subverted with ideas of its wickedness; instead of concentrating on the possibilities within the status quo for the further growth of capitalism, they seek some degree of alteration. The radicals on the other hand have concluded that capitalism itself is responsible for apartheid, and hence can see no way to end one without ending the other.

For Wright, change itself, promoted from whatever ideological perspective, is precisely what threatens the greatest danger.

Tucked into one paragraph, in the middle of his didactic castigations, lies the book's central directive, clothed in the thoughts of American sociologist, Herbert Blumer. Blumer, we are advised, has argued that "for many capitalists and industrialists, *the most rational and practical way to succeed in a society with already existing social or racial cleavages is in fact to accept them. This has the rational advantage of avoiding having to pay a variety of economic and social penalties*". In other words, laissez-faire – leave well alone and history and the future will take care of themselves.

It would be a great error to imagine that these are inter-academic debates, best left for scholars to take issue with in their own ivory towers. The sums already spent on apparently exclusively academic enterprises like the Ford-backed Yale Centre (to the tune of almost half a million dollars) and the State Department financed African American Scholars' Council research indicate quite clearly that U.S. imperialism is under no such naive illusions about the value of social scientists, and instead regards them as informers of and propagandists for policy decisions. In South Africa itself, Wright's book has already been widely reviewed, and, in some cases, greatly welcomed by conservative academics who have been increasingly frightened by the growing impact of the radical school on their students.

It is vitally important that South African social scientists see the issues equally clearly: 'radical' analyses of South Africa simply do not take place in a free-floating, eclectic environment; in the present stage of the struggle against racism and imperialism, they need to be firmly grounded in the liberation movement's struggle, using scientific theory to galvanize their role within that struggle. Marxism, with its challenge in theory, has always imposed its revolutionary responsibility in praxis: its burden of the present.

B.L.

A PROPHET WITHOUT VISION

How long will South Africa Survive?

by R.W. Johnson. The Macmillan Press, £8.95.

It is an intriguing question which everybody is asking and nobody can have the answer to because it lies in the future as yet unknown. Mr. Johnson is, in a sense, updating Keppel-Jones, who attempted a similar reading of the tea-leaves in *When Smuts Goes.* He is equally unsatisfactory, ending by repeating the question which was his starting point and complaining that "pondering the future of South Africa's White Establishment is no easy task".

When academics abandon their disciplines they often take outrageous liberties. Mr. Johnson confesses: "I have preferred to take the scholarly risks I have in order to tackle important but speculative concerns rather than leave them alone. The reader will have to judge whether I have backed hunches too outrageously far".

In fact most of Mr. Johnson's book is not speculative at all, but a lightning survey of the experiences which South Africa has undergone from Sharpeville to Soweto. Much of what he has to say is perceptive and shrewd, and he has itemised some issues, such as the failure of Vorster's policy of dialogue with black Africa, and the defeat of the South African forces in Angola, with effective clarity. Some of his other ventures, however, are less successful – for example, his discussion of the manipulation of the gold price, which depends too much on guesswork and surmise to be acceptable as an interpretation of international high finance and diplomacy.

Two main points emerge from Mr. Johnson's survey: 1. that the white supremacists in South Africa are still very strong, both militarily and politically, and 2. that the opposition is weak and divided and the liberation movement, in particular, has failed to adapt its political theory to the changing circumstances. In Mr. Johnson's view, while the apartheid object may be immoveable, the people's force is certainly not irresistible. Between now and 1990, he says, there may be further black revolts in town and country. "What is certain (not just possible) is that such revolts, if they take place, will be thoroughly and effectively repressed."

Yet, he concedes, by 1990, the combination of pressures on South Africa will have built up to the point where "Pretoria will reach the same moment of truth experienced by Smith in 1976: that it faces an endless guerilla war which can only get worse, and that its capacity to deprive the guerillas of sanctuary is both limited and weakening . . . The Pretoria regime will find itself threatened on all sides at once and in desperate need of help." At this point the US will step in and force the government to adopt majority rule in order to save South Africa from the reds.

If Mr. Johnson would only look at the extent to which the international scene has changed in the last 13 years he would realise the futility of viewing the world of 1990 through the spectacles of 1977. Above all, like most anti-Marxists, he undervalues the human personality, especially when it is black, and thereby reveals a lack of understanding or measuring the nature of all the forces which combine to bring about change in society. He doesn't even seem to understand how Marxists relate theory to practice. For example he condemns the Communist Party for its departure from Marxism in following "a classically Gandhian campaign of non-violence" during the 1950's, yet characterises its resort to sabotage in the early 1960's as "the politics of individualist, liberal machismo". And he succumbs to the temptation to be witty when he says: "The Nationalist Government has always argued that its liberal opponents are effectively communists; in fact it has been the other way around".

At the same time hard facts compel Mr. Johnson to admit that "the ANC-CPSA nexus . . . continues to provide easily the most significant force in radical opposition to the Pretoria regime". Yet nowhere does he reveal any deep acquaintance with the theory or practice of the South African liberation movement, least of all the Communist Party. He doesn't appear to be a regular reader of *The African Communist.* He persists in regarding Sharpeville as South Africa's 1905 and then complains because the SACP has not done likewise and made Soweto its 1917. He is even wrong in matters of detail. He says that in the latter half of 1976 key elements of the ANC and the Communist Party transferred their base of operations to Maputo. He says the Congress of Democrats was a front for the Communist Party. He says Africans have voted in Bantustan elections in large numbers. Where these errors are used to buttress his case that the Nationalist Government is almost invincible and the liberation movement impotent, one begins to suspect that Mr. Johnson is not merely taking "scholarly risks", but is guilty of special pleading, hoping to get away with it because he has absolved himself of the necessity to provide references.

Mr. Johnson may speculate and sneer to his heart's content. Nothing he says or does will change South Africa, and after reading his book one cannot even be certain that he wants it changed. It is the oppressed black masses whose struggle he belittles who, through their organisations, will bring the apartheid regime to its crisis point, by fighting and dying to achieve the South Africa of their dreams which was outlined in the Freedom Charter. They may make mistakes, but they will learn from them and they will also make history, which is more than can be expected from Mr. Johnson.

P.M.

THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST
LIST OF CONTENTS 1977

No 68 **First Quarter**

Editorial Notes: The Protection Racket in Southern Africa; Namibia's Struggle Enters a new Phase; Transkei Opportunists; Soviet-Angolan Agreement. 5
Z. Nkosi: The Lessons of Soweto. 18
R.S. Nyameko and G. Singh: The Role of Black Consciousness in the South African Revolution. 34
Alexander Sibeko: The Underground Voice. 48
A. Kalman: Israel and South Africa Unite Against Black Liberation. 59
Crisis in the Southern Sudan. 69
Africa: Notes and Comments. 82
Dialego: What is Dialectical Materialism? 89
Scarlet Whitman: All will be ours again. 100
B.J: A Soviet View of S.A. History. 101
Book Reviews: *Southern Africa – The New Politics of Revolution* by B. Davidson, J. Slovo and A.R. Wilkinson; *Economics of Racism USA – Roots of Black Inequality* by Victor Perlo; *Harry Pollitt, a Biography* by John Mahon. 112
Documents: Statements from the dock by David Rabkin and Jeremy Cronin. 126
Letter to the Editor: 130
Contents List for *The African Communist* 1976. 131

No 69 **Second Quarter**

Editorial Notes: Zimbabwe's Way Forward; Racist Ferocity; Bantustan Bluffers; The Cost of Apartheid. 5
Bernard Mazoe: How Zimbabwe's Liberation Struggle Began. 19
Phineas Malinga: Transkeian Cats out of the Bag. 35
F. Meli: Military Doctrine of the Apartheid Regime. 42
South African Communists at Vietnam Congress. 54
Carlos Rocha: Communist Internationalism: A Factor we can Rely On. 60
Dialego: Marxism and the Theory of Knowledge. 66
Gala: Has Art Failed South Africa? 78
W. Jones: Problems of the Ethiopian Revolution. 84
Africa: Notes and Comments. 94
A. Langa: New Trends in African Nationalism. 99
Book Reviews: *Lonrho: Portrait of a Multinational* by S. Cronje, M. Ling and G. Cronje; *Eleanor Marx Vol 2 The Crowded Years 1884-1898* by Yvonne Kapp; *Race and Suicide in*

South Africa by Fatima Meer; *Southern Africa: Which Side is Britain On?* by Jack Woddis 107
Documents: Frelimo's Guidelines for Building a People's Democracy. 116
Letter to the Editor. 122

No 70 **Third Quarter**

Editorial Notes: African Revolution on the March; The Role of Chief Lutuli; A Great Leader Murdered. 5
The Way Forward From Soweto: Statement of the SACP. 21
A. Azad: What Proletarian Internationalism Means to Africa. 51
Z. Nkosi: How the Russian Revolution Came to South Africa. 71
ANC Kumalo: Poem: Sovietsky Narod. 88
A. Langa: Mobutu and his Imperialist Allies. 90
Death of M.P. Naicker. 95
Dialego: The Materialist Theory of History. 99
On the Question of Human Rights. 112
Letters to the Editor. 116
Documents: Statement by the Socialist Vanguard Party in Algeria. 120

No 71 **Fourth Quarter**

Editorial Notes: Long Live the October Revolution!; Another Bantustan Monster; Death of a Disunited Party; Foreign Intervention in Zaire. 5
John Lenkoe: October Lives on in South Africa. 16
Vusizwe Seme: On the Various Forms of Revolutionary Struggle.
How the Angola Coup was Crushed: Statement by the PB of the CC of MPLA. 35
Agostinho Neto: Pledge of Support from Independent Africa. 52
Alexander Sibeko: Cuba and Angola — An Act of Solidarity. 60
Phineas Malinga: Turning Point in Namibia. 70
A. Langa: Sudan's Communists Point the Way Forward. 84
Menghistu Haile Mariam: Ethiopia Under Fire. 92
Book Reviews: *Organised Labour and the Black Workers 1619-1973* by Philip S. Foner; *The Development of an African Working Class: Studies in Class Formation and Action,* Edited by Richard Sandbrook and Robin Cohen; *The Foundation of the Union of South Africa 1902-1910* by R.R. Viatkina; *The Great White Hoax* published by The Africa Bureau, London; *Cape to Cairo* by Mark Strage and *Strategic Highways of Africa* by Guy Arnold and Ruth Weiss. 98